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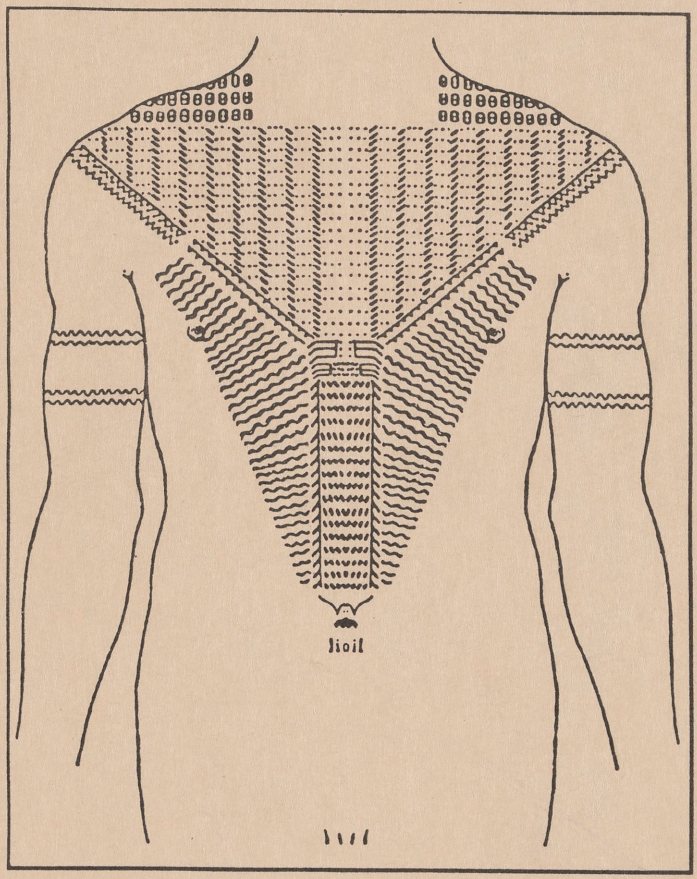

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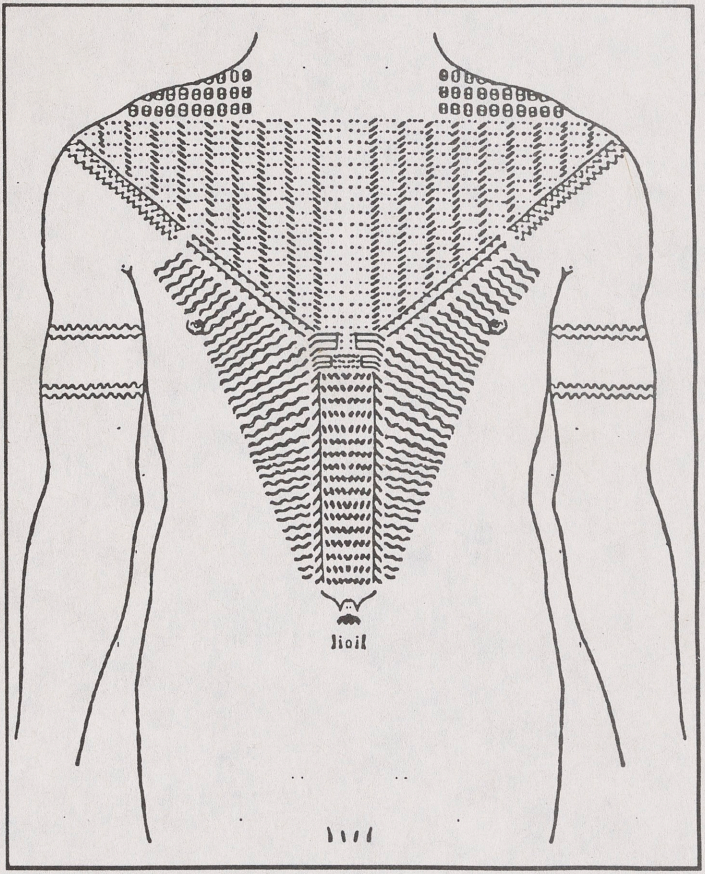

Tattoos

Marshallese Tattoos

MARSHALLESE CULTURE AND HISTORY

General Editor
Dirk H.R. Spennemann

SERIES C
TRADITIONAL SKILLS AND PRACTICES

NO 1
MARSHALLESE TATTOOS

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MINSITRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
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Marshallese Tattoos

by
Dirk H.R.Spennemann

MAJURO ATOLL
1992

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To Lewōj and Lanij

Preface to the Series

For over 2500 years the people of what is now called the Marshall Islands have shaped the atolls making up our country just as much as the atoll environment has shaped the culture and living conditions of the people. Against the background of atolls scattered in the expanse of the sea, with little land to live on, and even less land suitable for gardening to make a living from, the Marshallese people gained an enormous store of knowledge, skills, social customs and mechanism to survive the pressures the environment placed on the people.

Today with the onslaught of Western Cultural ideals and social norms, propagated by influences as diverse as the Christian Churches on the one hand and the action-packed mindless violent movies available in video parlors on the other, this store of knowledge is being depleted. The old and knowledgeable people are dying and many of the younger generation are too young to realize the value of what is being lost with an ever increasing speed.

It is the fundamental belief of the Historic Preservation Office that the information contained in the stories, the traditions, and the skills developed by past generations are still very much of value for a modern Marshallese society. We cannot afford to loose our sense of history, our understanding of and appreciation for what our ancestors did to survive on these atolls. We can-

not afford it because our spiritual well-being rests on it, because our cultural identity, that which makes us different from others, stems from this history. We cannot afford it, because the economic and environmental challenges ahead, brought about by issues as diverse as population increase and sea-level rise caused by the greenhouse effect, will put a strain on the resources this country has available to it.

But Historic Preservation can only work if the community as a whole supports our work. Therefore, outreach activities are most important. If sites and traditions are to be protected for generations to come, then the present generation needs to be aware of them. For this reason we have prepared this series of books on *Marshall Islands Culture and History.*

This series is produced jointly by the Alele Museum & National Archives; the Historic Preservation Office, Ministry of Internal Affairs; the Ministry of Education; and the Ministry of Social Services, under the co-ordination of the Historic Preservation Office. All four of these government and semi-government agencies in the Republic of the Marshall Islands deal with the caring for old and young and with the dissemination of information from the old to the young. The book series *Marshall Islands Culture and History* shall provide in written form this knowledge and information. The books scheduled to come out will fall into six smaller series and shall be published in Kajin Majel, or English or both. Projected are the following series: A–History; B–Traditional Material Culture; C–Traditional Skills and Practices; D–Traditional Food Plants and Foods; E–Legends, Chants and Proverbs; and Series F Technical Studies.

Series A, *History,* encompasses everything related to the history of the country, its atolls, their individual islands, or individual people and events. It includes west-

ern-style history as much as it includes oral tradition and history.

Series B, *Traditional Material Culture*, discusses in detail the touchable aspects of Marshallese life: canoes, mat weaving, house building, fishing gear and so on.

Series C, *Traditional Skills and Practices*, on the other hand, addresses the less touchable aspects of the culture of the Marshall Islands, such as land tenure, traditional herbal medicine, tattooing, navigation and the like.

Series D, *Traditional Food Plants and Foods*, addresses the issues of food production and food preparation. Here we will document the preservation of breadfruit, the making of arrowroot, but also traditional gardening practices.

Series E, *Legends, Chants and Proverbs*, brings together the oral traditions, legends, and stories, the proverbs as well the chants. Marshallese society is largely an oral society, where information is handed from generation to generation by word of mouth. As the society moves from an oral to a written one, this series provides the outlet to document the wealth of the oral culture.

Finally, series F, *Technical Studies and Miscellaneous*, presents technical information, such as on World War II gun recording, or such information that cannot be placed with confidence into one of the previous categories.

The Editor
Historic Preservation Office

Preface

For Pacific Islanders of the pre-contact period tattooing was a simple — though painful — fact of life, for both sexes a major step towards becoming a fully accepted member of society, reflecting their membership, and their position within that society. Today, some 150 years after the introduction of the New England Protestant version of Christianity, by and large tattooing is no longer practised in the Marshall Islands. Those who have tattoos, have "modern", that is Euro-American motifs, usually self-applied with inappropriate tools or obtained during overseas trips. At present, traditional Marshallese tattooing is a dead art.

Thus, a study of traditional Marshallese tattooing is actually a *post mortem* investigation. This booklet is destined to document Marshallese tattooing, as an art form with its rich ornaments and elaborate execution, and also the traditional social context in which tattooing needs to be seen. In keeping with the nature of a *post mortem* enquiry, then, this booklet will also examine the demise of the tattooing and attempt to highlight what caused it.

Information on 19th century Marshallese tattooing can be found scattered in a number of contemporary accounts. In addition, a few ethnographic treatises touch on the subject, most of them in German. To date there is no

comprehensive overview on the topic. Furthermore, none of the information had been readily available for the Marshallese public. This volume is intended to fill that gap, although it is clear from the onset that there may be additional information, especially oral history, not yet canvassed. A Kajin Majol (Marshallese language) edition is planned for the near future.

Because this volume is the first compilation on Marshallese tattooing, it was necesssary to extensively annotate and reference the study; since this scholarly apparatus is rather tiring for the general readership the book primarily wants to address, the commentary and footnotes have been relegated to the rear of the volume.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has been written with the assistance of a number of people, the help of whom is gratefully acknowledged.

I am grateful to Alfred Capelle, CEO Alele Musum and National Archives. (Majuro), who checked on the transcription of some of the Marshallese words recorded by the Germans into the currently valid orthography, and also provided the available oral history data on tattooing. Rev. Kanki Amlej, oral historian, Alele Inc., kindly provided additional information.

Dr. Siegfried Seifert, Librarian, Frobenius Institute, Frankfurt (Germany) provided copies of a great number of German ethnographic references used in this book, which were otherwise unavailable in the Marshall Islands. His help is very much appreciated.

I am grateful to the deBrum family, custodians of the deBrum Photo collection, and as well as to Leonard

Mason for the permission to use some of their negatives and photographs.

James Abernathy (Majuro) made available his scanner, as well as a more powerful computer to manipulate some of the scans and images represented in this volume.

I am also very much in debt with Dan Thomè, Guam/San Francisco, who provided encouragement as well as very fruitful discussions, and who set me off on this path in the first place.

Above all, however, I am grateful to my wife, Jane Downing, who endured the prolonged gestation period of this volume and who provided good criticism of an earlier draft.

To all those
kommal tata

Majuro Atoll
December 1992

Introduction

Rarely has an artform found so diverse evaluations as tattooing. The ancient Greeks, who considered everyone non-Greek as barbaric, observed and condemned tattooing among the "barbaric" Thracians and Scythians, and the ancient Romans observed it among Gauls, Britons and Germans. The Romans also tattooed (marked) slaves and convicted criminals and regarded tattooing as a mark of low estate. Early Christians had borne the sign of the cross as a tattoo, but when Emperor Constantine I. made Christianity the official religion of Rome (A.D. 325) he banned tattooing. After the advent of Christianity in these areas, tattooing was also forbidden in central and northern Europe.[1]

In the opinion of the public of modern westernized societies tattooing still has an infamous reputation: more often than not the mental image of tattooing is connected with what are perceived to be societal fringe populations, such as sailors, motor cycle gangs, circus artists, prostitutes and "jailbirds". Most of this stigma stems from historic roots:[2] the bible forbids tattooing as such;[3] and tattooing to mark and number convicts, used as early as Roman times, was wide-spread practice in 19th century British and American penal systems and attained more recent infamy during the Nazi period where Jews delivered to concentration camps were thus marked.[4]

Yet, on the other hand, almost all early European visitors to the South Seas, beginning with Cook's visit to Tahiti, found tattooing most intriguing. The English word "tattoo" is in fact a loanword from the Polynesian word *tatau.*[5] European visitors saw the Marshallese tattoos as "eye capturing"[6] and some, such as Adalbert von Chamisso, even desparately ventured to attain such body markings. In his eyes,

> *"tattooing neither covers nor disfigures the body, but rather blends in with it in graceful adornment and seems to enhance its beauty".*[7]

Following such enthusiastic reports from the South Seas, tattooing became for a short while rather fashionable in the age of romanticism, both in England and continental Europe, and a number of illustrious high-ranking people obatined tattoos. In the late 19th and early 20th century tattooes then became wide spread in some trades and professions.[8]

For Pacific Islanders of the pre-contact period tattooing was a simple — though painful — fact of life, for both sexes a major step towards becoming a fully accepted member of society. In contrast to Europeans, where dress and body are seen as separate entities and where the tattooes consist of mainly isolated pictures rather than whole body compositions, Oceanic tattooes are intrisically linked to the body they decorate and the dress which covers that body.

TATTOOING IN OCEANIC CULTURES

In traditional Oceanic cultures tattooing is closely connected to the social and spiritual custom of a population.[9] The motif complex utilised by prehistoric and

historic populations in the Pacific covered several art forms, ranging from bark cloth, rock art, pottery (where extant) and wood carving/painting to body ornamentation. In all cases the ornament set was seen as a group identifier, classifying the bearer as distinct from strangers and regional neighbours;[10] it was an visual expression of being Tongan, Marshallese, Gilbertese, &c. In addition, it functioned as an identifier of subgroups within a population, such as distinguishing chiefly from non-chiefly people.[11]

Body ornamentation comes in three forms: body painting, *i.e.* the application of paint or mud; pigment tattooing, *i.e.* the application of pigment under the epidermis; and scar tattooing, *i.e.* the piercing, slicing or burning of the skin to cause a scar, thus creating a three-dimensional ornament. While body painting is a reversable ornament, the latter two are permanent. All three methods of body ornamentation are common in Oceania and especially Micronesia, although only pigment tattooing, and—to a very small degree only—scar tattooing were practised in the Marshall Islands.

THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

The Marshall Islands (*Aelon Kein Ad),* comprising 29 atolls and 5 islands, are located in the north-west equatorial Pacific, about 3800km west of Honolulu, about 2700km north of Fiji and 1500km east of Pohnpei (Ponape) (figure 1).[12] With the exception of the two northwestern atolls, Enewetak and Ujelang, the Marshall Islands are arranged in two island chains running roughly NNW to SSE: the western Ralik Chain and the eastern Ratak Chain (figure 2).

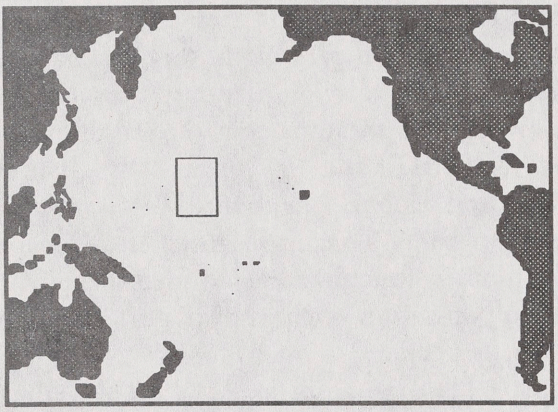


Figure 1. Location of the Marshall Islands in the Northern Equatorial Pacific Ocean. (The frame shows the area covered by figure 2).

Not counting the five islands, Jemo, Jabwat, Kili, Lib and Mejit, the atolls of the Marshall Islands range from very small, with less than 3.5km^2, such as Nadikdik (Knox) Atoll to very large. With 2,173km^2 lagoonal area, Kwajalein Atoll has the distinction of being the atoll with the World's largest lagoon.

The Marshallese environment

The atolls of the Marshall Islands, comprising well over 1200 islands and islets are scattered about in an ocean area of well over 600,000 square miles. The total enclosed lagoonal area is a bit more than 4,500 square miles, while the total combined land area of the atolls is as little as 70 square miles.

The atolls support narrow sand cays set on the more or less ring-like reef platform. Only few of the islands on the atolls have a land area greater than one square kilometre and on most of them the distance between the lagoon and the ocean side is less than 300 metres.

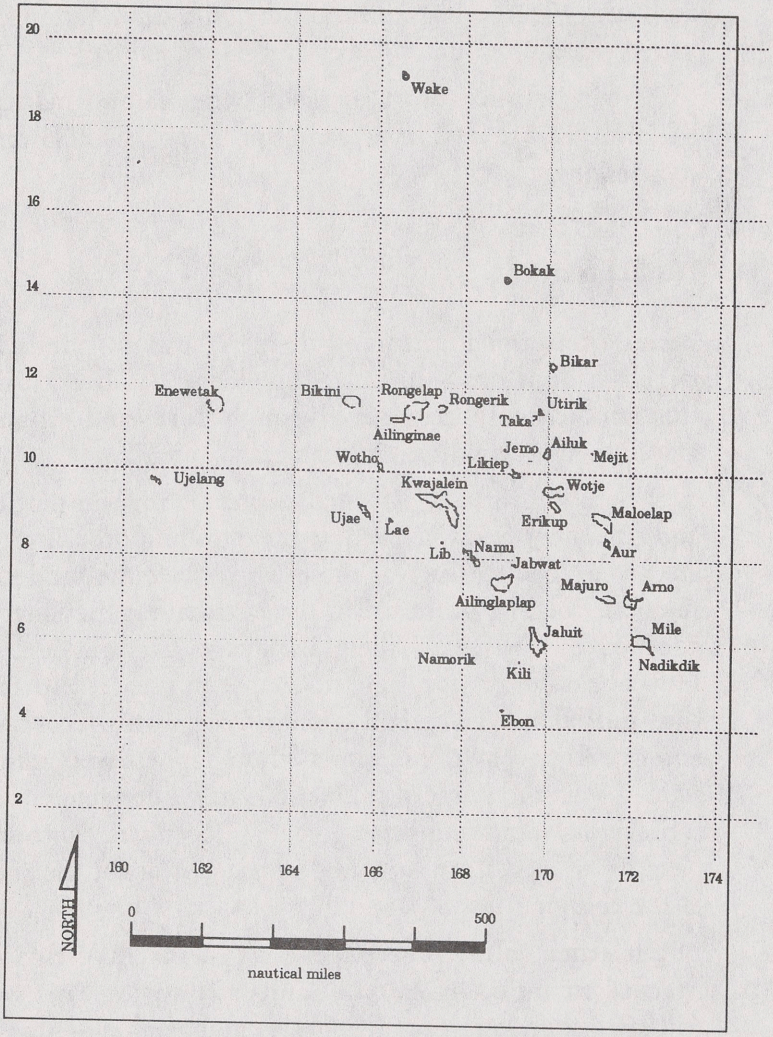


Figure 2. Map of the Marshall Islands

The environment the Marshallese lived and still live in is dominated by the sea. Land is scarce, and the sea and its inhabitants are omnipresent. Thus it is hardly surprising to learn that the Marshallese were avid navigators who ventured far beyond the Marshall Islands. Inter-

atoll canoe traffic was common and the exploitation of varied marine resources a well developed skill.

As will be shown further below, the sea and marine life also plays a very important role in Marshallese tattoo designs.

Nomenclature

Because traditional tattooing in the Marshall Islands is largely a dead art and most knowledge has been lost, this study had to rely heavily on historic and ethnographic sources discussed in the next chapter.

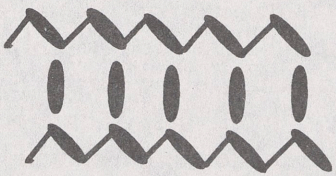
Where known, the Marshallese terms for the motifs and ornament fields, as well as for tattooing utensils &c are given. The spelling of these words uses the modern phonetic spelling proposed in the Marshallese dictionary adopted by the Marshallese Language Commission.[13] However, as most words are no longer in useage, and are thus not included in the dictionary, the words recorded and transcribed by the German ethnographers were transcribed into the modern phonetic system. For reference, the original renderings are given in footnotes. A complete list of words can be found in the glossary at the end of the volume.

On the following pages we will investigate Marshallese tattooing from a number of angles. First we will lay a foundation for the study, by having close look at the sources available for the enquiry. We will discuss their validity and reliability. Thereafter we will focus on the traditional Marshallese dress and its relationship to the body ornaments, both permanent and temporary. This leads to a discussion of the Marshallese tattoo motifs, their meaning, as well as their origin, as far as this can be elucidated. A discourse shows the close ties to

mat weaving motifs. On this foundation, then, we will look at the mens's and the women's tattooes in their entirety and how the individual motifs and ornament zones relate to each other. We will also look at the tattooing utensils used to create the ornaments.

In the third part we will concentrate on the social context of tattooing by discussing the traditional Marshallese society, the tattooing ceremony and the spiritual and social importance of being tattooed. We will show that tattooing was an integral visual part of the social system. A look on the differences between Marshallese tattooes and those of their immediate geographical neighbours concludes this section.

The final part of the volume will look at the frequency of tattooing over time and will investigate the reasons for its demise. With the spread and acceptance of Christian belief structures by the Marshallese, tattooing became rapidly associated with the old culture, and thus untenable. It died out as a viable practice long before the Japanese outlawed it during the period of their mandate. A short section on the potential future of tattooing in a modern Marshallese society concludes the volume. Although tattooing has become more common among the young male populaton in the urban centres of the Marshall Islands, it is a copy of the Euro-American motif sets, and in its splendour a far cry from what once flourished.



The Sources

Today traditional Marshallese tattooing is no longer practised and the meaning of most of the ornaments and ornament fields is no longer known. In fact, only very few Marshallese of the 1990's can remember having seen people with full traditional tattooes. Thus we have to turn to historic sources. Aspects of tattooing in the Marshall Islands are described by a variety of ethnographic sources mainly of the late 19th and early 20th century, which have been canvassed for this study.[14] Since at present there is no comprehensive treatment of the topic, the following is based on this survey of sources.

An in-depth reading of these sources made it clear how little information had in fact been recorded at a time when a large number of people still wore tattoos and knew their meanings, as well as the traditions related to the motifs and the chants sung at the ceremonies. Then, there were still people who knew how to tattoo, although with the progressive impact of the Christian faith the ceremony itself had become more or less extinct. Language problems, and possibly also psychological aversion on behalf of the Marshallese, probably due to Christianity-induced guilt complexes, may have been inhibitive factors in the transmission of knowledge.

Based on archaeological evidence, the first people to settle on the atolls which now make up the Republic of

the Marshall Islands arrived between 1000 and 500 B.C. Over the centuries they maximised the horticultural potential offered by the scarce land on the atolls and developed a complex social system with little emphasis on permanent structures. Transmission of information was oral, by word of mouth; a reliable method to hand down one's skills, information and social regulations, but subject to as much intentional modification and alteration of content as is provided by modern news coverage.

Over two milennia after settlement the first European visitors arrived on the scene and the first written accounts appear. Most likely the first Europeans to touch upon the atolls of the Marshall Islands were members of a Spanish expedition under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra, who arrived in October 1529 on a return voyage from the Philippines to Mexico. Saavedra encountered a northwestern atoll of the Marshall Islands, possibly Ujelang. A brief encounter with the heavily tattooed natives seems to have impressed the Spaniards so much that they named the entire island group "Los Pintados"—the painted. No details of the appearance of the tattoos are known.[15]

The observations of several subsequent visitors, Spanish, British and American, do not touch on tattooing. The earliest more detailed descriptions we have of Marshallese tattooing stem from members of the Russian Exploring Expedition under the command of Captain Otto von Kotzebue, who visited the northeastern Marshall Islands first in 1816 and 1817, and then again in 1824.[16]

After the Russians left, little ethnographic work was done in the Marshall Islands for over half a century.

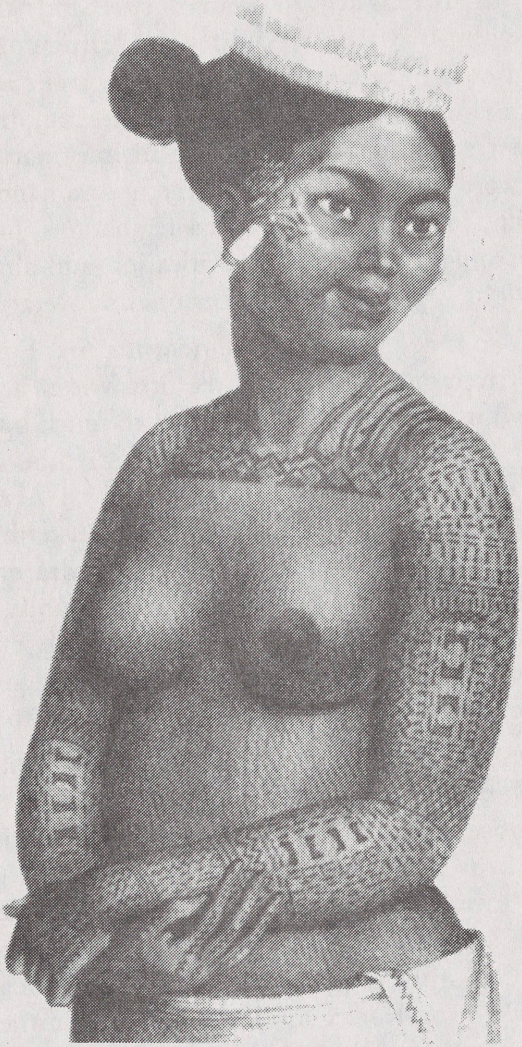


Figure 3. The first illustration of a Marshallese woman's tattoo (by L. Choris on Kotzebue's visit to Wotje in 1816).

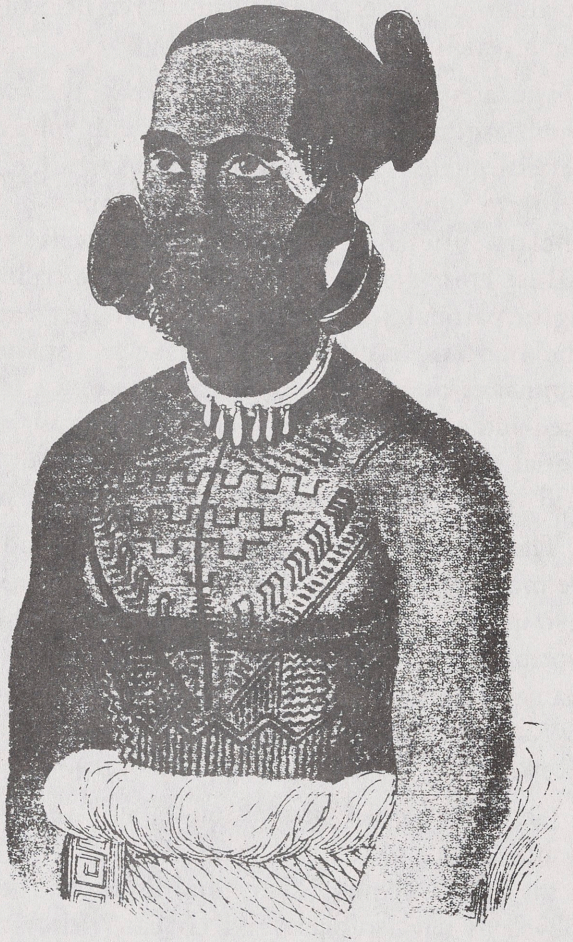


Figure 4. The first illustration of a Marshallese man's tattoo (by L. Choris on Kotzebue's visit to Wotje in 1816).

Another very early, but not very instructive source, contemporary to the Russian accounts stems from the observations of Lay & Hussey who stayed on Mile for well over a year.[17]

The later part of the 19th century saw the Marshall Islands becoming drawn into the German sphere of commericial interests and ultimately in 1885 a German protectorate.Subsequently a great number of German scholars, priests and administrators dealt with Marshallese ethnography in general and Marshallese tattooing in particular either in passing or in greater detail. The traders Hernsheim[18] and Hager[19] provided short summaries of Marshallese life and custom for an interested audience in Germany, but mainly dwelt on the potential economic importance of the atolls of the Marshall Islands for fledgling German colonial aspirations.

The descriptions of the scholars Finsch[20] and Kubary[21] are more detailed than those of the traders although the descriptions especially of Finsch, contain some misconceptions, possibly caused by the inability to speak Marshallese. Some other information dating to the late 19th century is provided by accounts of shipwrecked people, such as Eisenhardt[22] or Humphrey.[23]

German colonial administrators and doctors[24] filed a number of formal reports, most of which were published in the official organs.[25] The administrators, their spouses as well as naval officers and civilian visitors also published a number of informal articles in colonial newspapers and magazines, which contain additional information although mainly of a more general nature.[26]

Soon after its establishment in 1904, the Catholic mission in Jaluit began to compete with the Protestant missionaries who had been well entrenched for almost half a century. The Catholic fathers collected traditions

and ethnographic information, as well as worked on the Marshallese language. Father Erdland published a comprehensive ethnography and a dictionary, both of which discuss tattooing at length.[27] Erdland's dictionary lists a number of terms for tattooing on body parts, some of which seem to refer to motifs commonly used on that body part or ornament zone.

Figure 5. An early illustration of a Marshallese tattoo.[28]

Following his two months sojourn in the Marshall Islands in 1897/1898 *Augustin Krämer*[29] wrote a paper on mat weaving and tattooing in 1904, and included tattooing in a monograph on his trip published two years later. In 1910 Krämer again visited the Marshall Islands, this time with the German South Sea Expedition, and published the entire ethnographic material together with

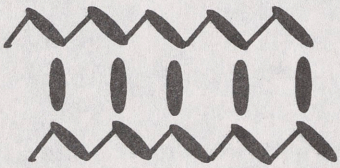
Hans Nevermann in 1938 as a volume of a series covering the 1910 expedition. Tattooing is again reviewed, and all other German sources are commented upon.

Following the outbreak of World War I, Japan seized the Marshall Islands from Germany in October 1914. Her possession of Micronesia was formalised in 1922 by the League of Nations.[30]

Subsequently a number of Japanese ethnographers worked in the Marshall Islands, some of whom dealt with the topic of tattooing.[31] The main Japanese work on Micronesian tattooing was first done by Matsamura[32] and later especially by Hasebe Kotondo.[33] Hasebe published a paper on Marshallese tattooing in 1930, wherein he discussed contemporary tattooing motifs and the decline of traditional Marshallese tattooing.

In 1945 following Japan's defeat in World War II the Marshall Islands became a Trust Territory of the United Nations, under administration by the United States of America. Ethnographic work conducted immediately after World War II shows that traditional tattooing was no longer practised.

The Marshallese tattoos consists of general designs, different for men and women, and of individual motifs which make up the design. While the design is rather standardised, the deliberate use of the motifs make each design a unique tattoo.



Marshallese Dress

Before we can embark on a detailed discussion of the Marshallese tattoos, we need to have an understanding of the general state of dress and ornamentation in the Marshall Islands. It has been argued before by some observers that in the Marshall Islands, tattoos and dress form integral and inseperable parts of the overall attire.[34] The mutual exclusiveness of tattooed areas on the body and the areas covered by pieces of clothing has been observed in cultures all over the world.[35]

In the Marshall Islands, men's traditional dress seems partially to have survived until the late 19th century, while women were already wearing a small cotton or calico jacket over their mats, which had been relegated to underwear.[36]

CLOTHING

Traditional Marshallese dress for both sexes left the upper body unclothed and covered only the lower body and the thighs.

Men's Dress

Traditionally, mens' dress consisted of clothing mats which would last for about one year in constant use. Two

types of wear could be distinguished. *Lagebā,* where one corner of the mat is pulled between the legs to the front and tucked into the belt. The other three corners are tucked into the belt at the back and the sides, covering the back of the thighs but not their fronts. This type of wear was used for daily work and fishing but was considered inappropriate indoors in the presence of chiefs. The other way to wear a mat was *kal* or *tuman,* whereby the mat was worn in an apron-like fashion wound around the body. Chiefs would on festive occasions wear a grass skirt covered by a mat hanging over at the front.[37]

Traditional grass skirts (*in*), worn by men, were two clusters of fibres which were fastened together by a band. The skirt, made from the bark of the weed *Triumphetta procumbens (atat)* or from the bark of the *Hibicus* bush *(lo),* did not go round the body in a continous fashion, but left both outer sides of the thighs free. The skirt had a longer part in the front, reaching to the level of the knees. The men did not wear any other clothing.

Thus the male tattooing, which covered front and back, as well as the sides of the thighs, combined with the grass skirt itself, gave the man the appearance if a fully dressed individual (figure 6).[38] Rarely, mainly on festive occasions, higher ranking or older chiefs would wear two mats wrapped around the legs and their torso but this dress was already on the demise at the time of the missionaries.

Women's Dress

Adult women wore two mats,[39] one covering the front and a second one put on the back with both sides coming round to the front, partially over the front mat. The mats were held in place by a belt (*kangurngur*) which could be as long as fifty metres.[40]

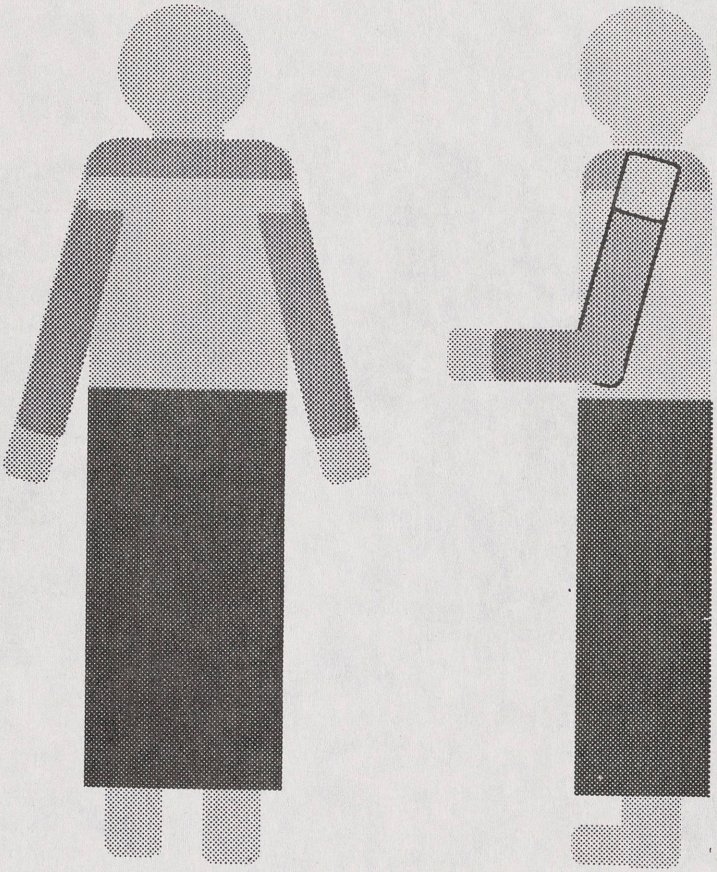


Figure 6. Sketch of a Marshallese woman indicating the areas covered by clothing (dark shading) and by tattoos (lighter shading)

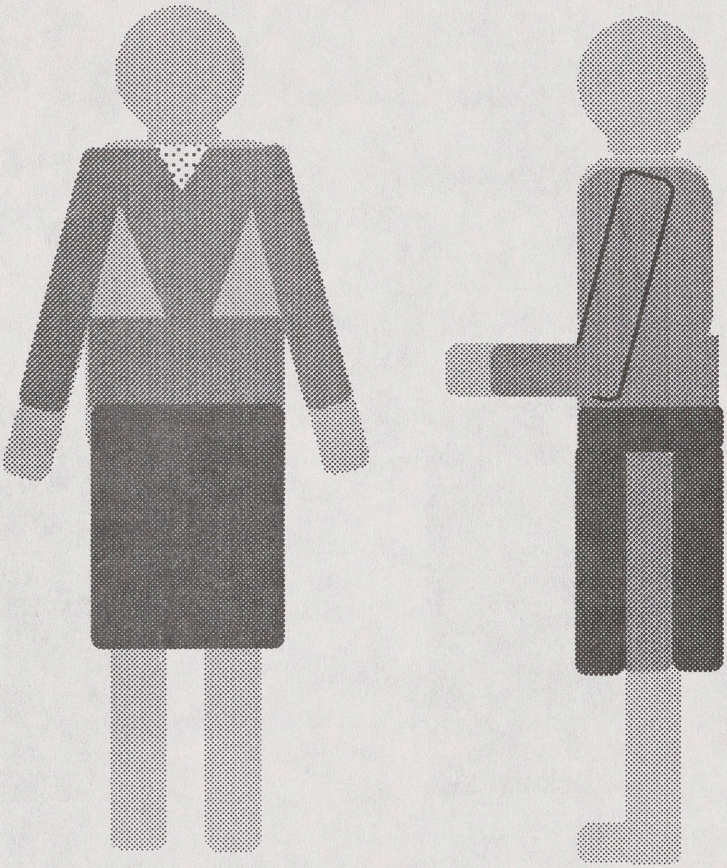


Figure 7. Sketch of a Marshallese man indicating the areas covered by clothing (dark shading) and by tattoos (lighter shading)

Figure 8. Marshallese clothing mats in the Knappe Collection. (Photographs Courtesy Museum für Thüringer Volkskunde, Erfurt)

Both mats of a pair were commonly made with the same motif pattern. Chiefly women would wear a third mat to protect the—good—clothing mats, espcially when sitting down on the ground.

In traditional times a woman's dress changed the moment she became [visibly] pregnant. She began wearing different mats and thereby signalled the new statnding in society.[41] Young girls wore a small mat around their lower body area. The men's mat wear, *lagebā*, was used by girls only during erotic ceremonial dances. [42]

The Marshallese took particular pride, it seems was taken with the belts. A simple belt (*kangur*)[43], about a handwidth's wide, was wrapped around the waist and held with a string of coconut fibre. The belt is then covered by the *idik*[44], a belt string which is made from white and black (dyed) Pandanus leaves tightly and spirally wrapped around a coconut fibre core.[45]

Hair dress

Men and women wore the hair long. Men wore the hair combed back and tied up into a tight knot high above their head (*bujek*).[46] Women's hair was also worn in knot, but the knot was placed at the neck (*bujek*).[47] Children carried their hair hanging down.

Ornaments

The ornaments worn by the Marshallese encompass armrings made of sections cut from *Conus* and *Trochus* shells, armbands made from small shellbeads, arm and head ornaments made from feathers of seabirds, pendants made from shells, turtle shell and whale and porpoise teeth, as well as necklaces made from shells, coconut shells, and seeds.[48]

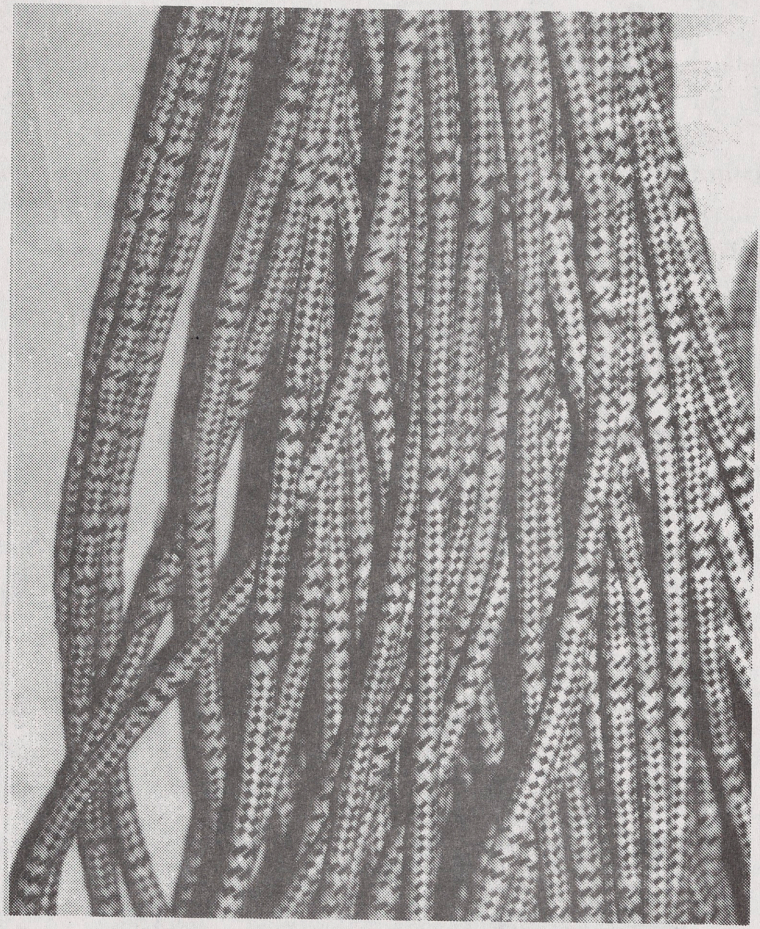


Figure 9. Marshallese belt (kangur) in the Knappe Collection. (Photographs Courtesy Museum für Thüringer Volkskunde, Erfurt)

The chiefs also wore flat woven belts on which a number of shell plates and beads was mounted.[49] In addition to these "permanent" ornaments, necKlaces, leis and headbands, as well as arm and earlobe ornaments, existed which were woven from flowers and leaves.

Other

Marshallese girls (and women?) also used to paint their finger nails red, using the dye from a *Murex* sp. shell.[50] The enlargement of the earlobes (*ralil*)[51] was very common among men. The earlobes were pieced with a sharks tooth and gradually enlarged by insertion of leaves. In order to achieve larger holes, some people had parts of their cheeks cut so that the enlargement could reach as far down as the mandible. The enlarged earlobe was also used as a temporary receptacle to carry clay pipes, tobacco sticks, pencils, and the like. In extreme cases the earlobe could be extended to such an extent that it could be pulled over the head[52].

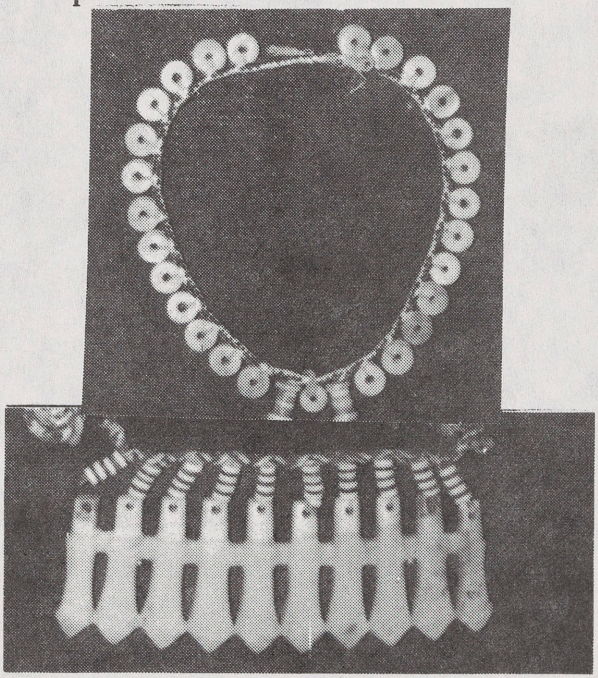


Figure 10. Marshallese pendants and necklaces in the Knappe Collection. (Photographs Courtesy Museum für Thüringer Volkskunde, Erfurt)

Figure 11. A Marshallese man in traditional dress at the turn of the century. (Photo courtesy deBrum collection)

Figure 12. A Marshallese man in traditional dress at the turn of the century. (Photo courtesy deBrum collection)

Figure 13. A Marshallese woman in traditional dress at the turn of the century. (Photo courtesy deBrum collection

Figure 14. A Marshallese woman in traditional dress at the turn of the century. (Photo courtesy deBrum collection)

The Tattoo Motifs

For those who have lived on one of the atolls making up the Marshall Islands, it is not surprising that Marshallese tattooing has drawn its elements and ideas for motifs from the environment surrounding the Marshallese people—the sea.

ORIGIN OF THE TATTOO MOTIFS

Many motifs are abstract forms of specific fish, or are said to represent canoe parts or the canoe's movements. Tattooing in general is called *eo,*[53] because the lines of the blue-striped or regal angelfish *Pygoplites diacanthus* (figure 15), according to Krämer also called *eo,* were considered to be exemplary.[54] Another source, Father Erdland,[55] mentions that the word *eo*[56] not only means to "tattoo" but also the lion fish (*Pterois volitans*).[57] Again, the lion fish serves as a prime example for a small, clean and well-ordered stripe design covering an entire body.[58] Whichever fish species was taken as the exact example after which Marshallese tattoos were modeled, it becomes clear that spiritually and conceptually Marshallese tattoos and their motifs are firmly rooted in the marine environment.[59]

The same applies to the colour of the tattoo. Here the blackness of the feathers of two seabirds, the black noddy (*Anous tenourostris*, LARIDAE) and the "*ägäo*"[60] was

considered to be exemplarily for the blackness of the tattoos.[61]

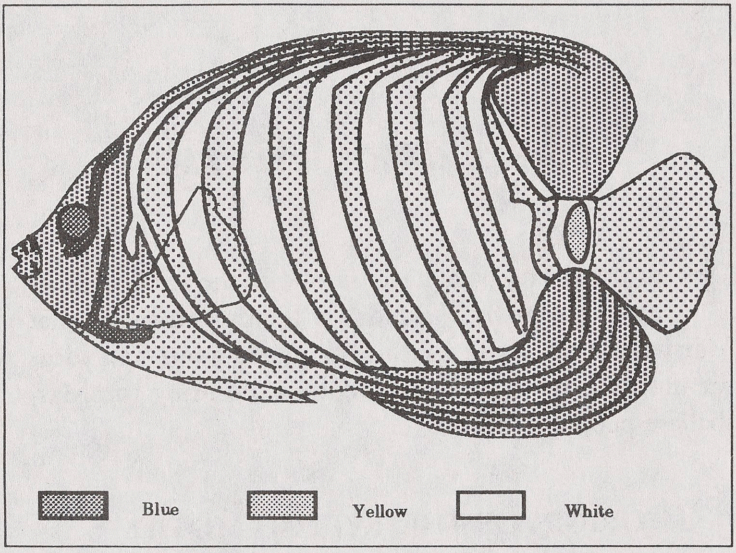
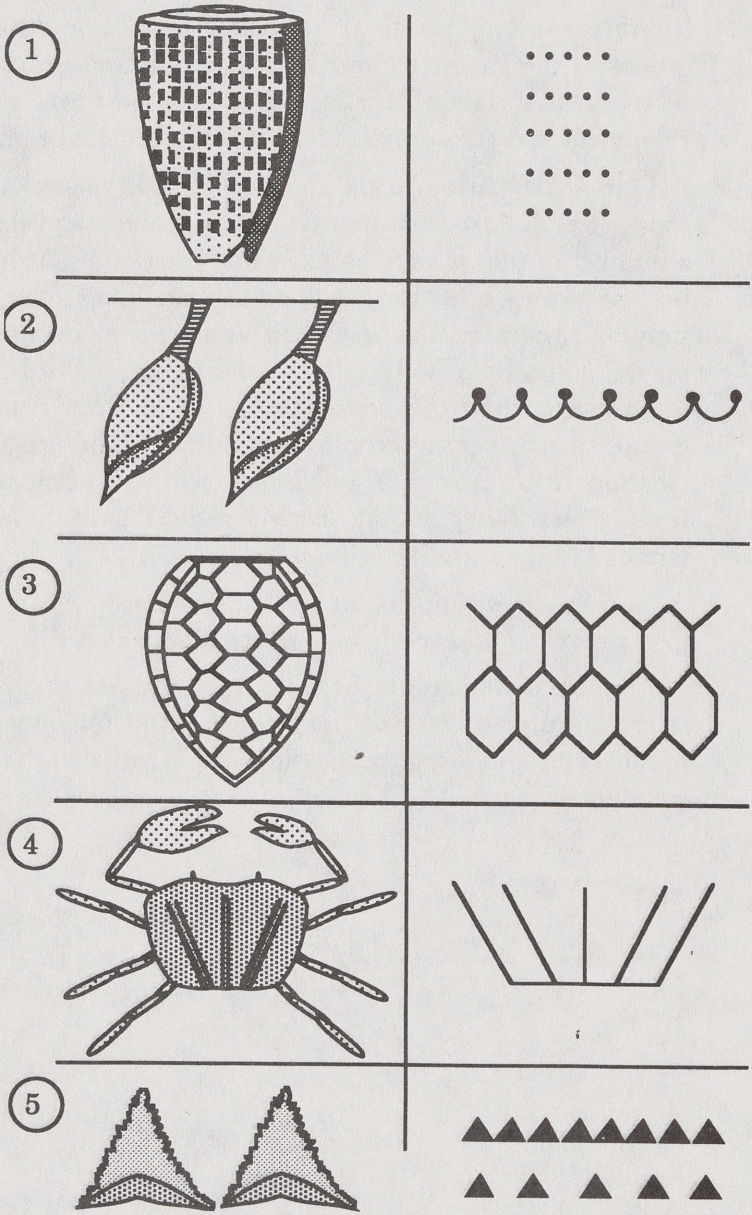


*Figure 15. The Regal Angelfish (*Pygoplites diacanthus*) was for the Marshallese the apex of clear lines and example for tattooes.*

The Marshallese tattoo motifs are in general character very abstract pictographs; their meaning, as outlined below, finds its roots in the environment: markings and shapes of fish, tooth marks of fishbites, motifs resembling shells or their ornaments and so on. Figure 16 shows a set of Marshallese tattoo motifs, namely the *elongwa*, *addilajju*, *bōd*, *addijokur* and the *pako* motif, as well as the examples in the natural environment after which these motifs have been fashioned and named.

Next page:

*Figure 16. Marshallese tattooing motifs (right) and their natural examples (left). 1—*Conus ebraeus *and the* addilajju *motif; 2—*Lepas anserifera *and the* elongwa *motif; 3—Back of a turtle's carapace and the* bōd *motif; 4—Back of crab's carapace and the the* addijokur *motif; 5–Shark's teeth and the* pako *motif.*


1
2
3
4
5

In no case are the Marshallese motifs elaborate, never life-image pictographs, as in other tattooing motif groups of the Pacific region. This may indicate that tattooing in the Marshall Islands has undergone a long development and transformation to more a iconic type.

One of the early sources claims that Marshallese tattooing was not executed in a systematic manner and that a number of motifs were of accidental creation.[62] As has been shown by other early studies, this was a misconception, and the motifs as well their arrangement in ornamental zones on a body follow strict patterns. Furthermore, tattoo motives were differentiated between island groups, that is between the Marshall Islands and others. Chamisso, for example, noted that Kadu, a navigator from Woleai living among the Marshallese on Aur, was tattooed in the Caroline fashion with

> *"faint figures of fishes and birds individually and in rows around his knees, on his arms and shoulders".*[63]

In their pictographic content, then, the Marshallese tattoo motifs are very distinctly different from motifs found in neighbouring populations, such as Palau, Yap, orPohnpei (figures 17-18).[64]

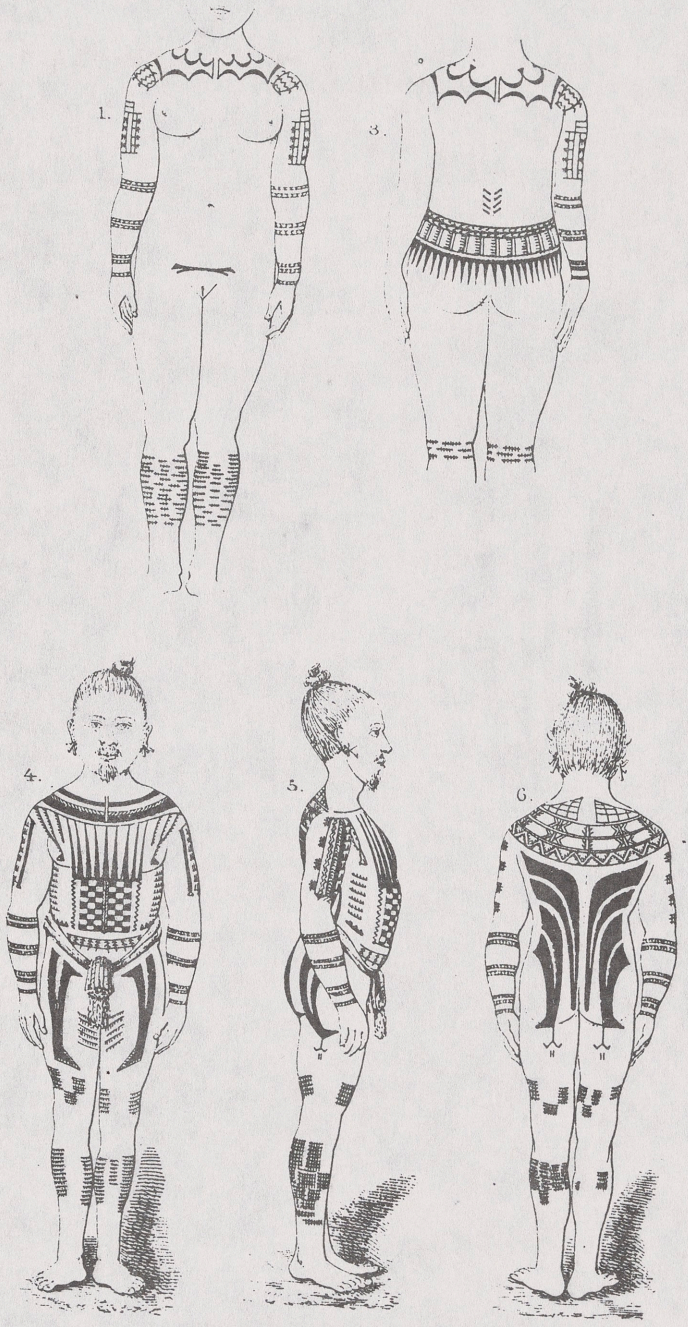


Figure 17. Tattooing motifs of neighbouring populations: Carolines.

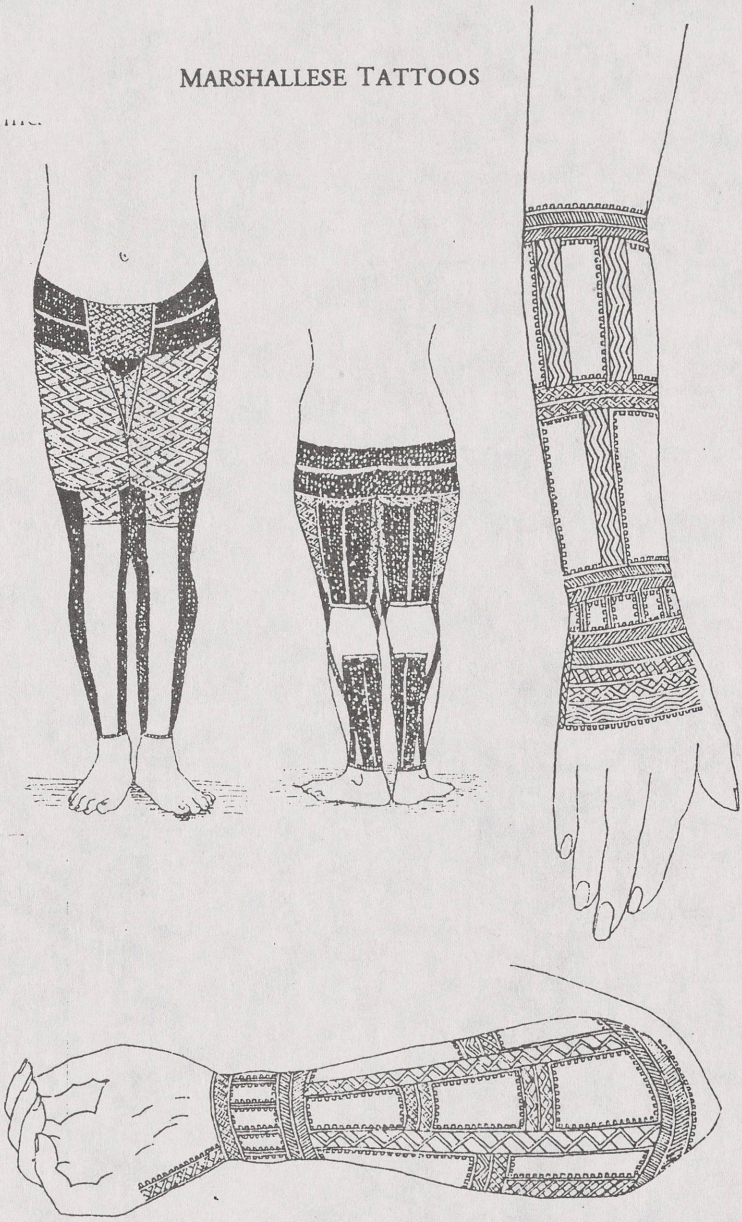
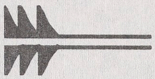
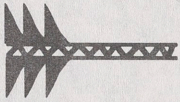
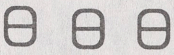


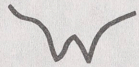
Figure18. Tattooing motifs of neighbouring populations, Pohnpei

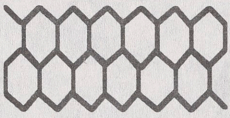
16a  *bwilak*

16b *bwilak*

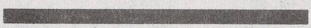
16c  *bwilak*

17  *kilin bül*

18  *dānnin wōt*

19  *bōd (?)*

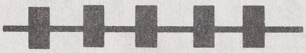
20a *eo*

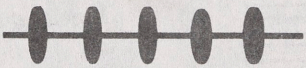
20b  *eolap*

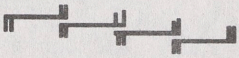
21a *pako*

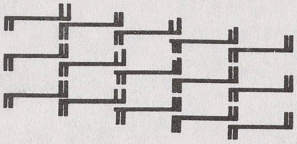
21b *pako*

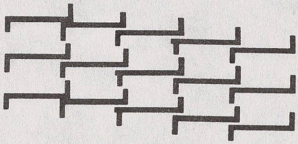
21c *pako*

22a  *?*

22b  *mad pōōdpudi*

23a  *kadikdik*

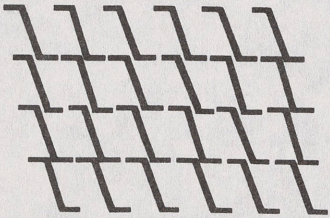
23b  *kadikdik*

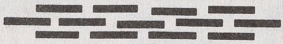
23c  *kadikdik*

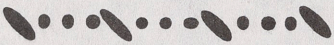
24a *tokrak (?)*

tokrak (?)

24b

24c  *tokrak (?)*

25  *?*

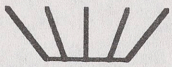
26a  *?*

26b *?*

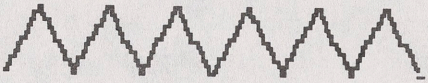
27 *wun*

28 *jikin uwe (?)*

29 *?*

30  *addijokur*

31 *eodikdik (?)*

32  *?*

THE MEANING OF THE TATTOO MOTIFS

Many of the motifs shown in table 1 had been recorded both in the form of drawings and names during German times, commonly presented scattered in the literature without their entomology being cleared up. In the following we will have a closer look at the names of the tattoo motifs and the meaning of the individual motifs, which for convenience have been arranged in alphabetical order. As will become apparent, more than one name can apply to a given motif. This may be the result of unsophisticated recording at the turn of the century, which may have rendered graphically slightly different motifs in the same way; it also may indicate that different names werevapplied to tattoo motifs depending on the sequence of execution. The number of recorded tattoos is too limited to allow for a detailed analysis.

The most common tattoo motif is the straight forward zigzig, yet a number of names has been given to this motif (*kein kōm, kābōborōk, pako*). Supporting the previous assertion is the observation that a number of recorded variations of the zigzag motif exist, such as the *lijjā* (motif nº 3), *bōd eo Lōbōllōn* (motif nº 2), *pako* (motif nº 21b, c) and the like. Most motifs can be derived from variations of these two common base motifs. However, since the motifs—based on their meanings—

are strong abstractions of real-life objects and would as such be based on more natural looking motifs, any evolutionary sequence such as shown in figure 19 is mostly a research artefact. Nonetheless, individual components of the sequece show how easily the tattoo motifs can be transformed by simple additions. The basis of the tattoo motifs seems to be the dot, the straight line and the zigzag line.

addijokur – back of a crab, used as a finger tattoo. The motif embodies the trapezoid shape of the crab's carapace and the diverging linear depressions which are visible on the back of several land and water crabs (see figure 16.4 for the genesis of the motif) (motif 30).[65]

addilajju – motif zone taken from the cone shell (*Conus ebraeus*, CONIDAE), used as a finger tattoo. The motif uses the closely set vertically aligned dots of the shell as an inspiration (see figure 16.1 for genesis of the motif) (motif 14b).[66]

anijjar – "praying to the gods." The motif possibly symbolises a human body (kneeling?) prostrate on the ground, arms and head pointing downwards (motif 12).[67]

bōd (?) – joined hexagons, said to represent the dermal plates of a turtle shell (motif 19; see figure 16. 3 for the genesis of the motif)[68] The turtle shell has a special meaning in Marshallese custom and stands for strength and intellectual power and cunningness.[69]

bōd eo Lōbōllōñ – sign of the Lōbōllōñ, which Lōbōllōñ invented as a past time (motif 2).[70]

Tattoo on a woman's inner thigh or on the *mons veneris.*

bwilak – tail end of the unicorn fish (*Naso unicornis*, ACANTHURIDAE) (motif 16a, 16b, 16c).[71] According to informants of Hasebe[72] this motif is called *jeleak* (see *deeleak*) and the band with the three protrusions is called *bāle.*[73]

deeleak – fan motif ? (motif 16??). Krämer does not provide a picture of the motif.[74] According to informants of Hasebe[75] the *bwilak* motif is called *jeleak*[76] (se above)

dānnin wōt – "rain water", a motif executed with the pigment prepared last. According to Krämer, the W–shaped motif placed at the navel.[77] According to Erdland, however, a zigzag motif on the chest (motif 18).[78]

eo – (straight) line; The term also means the fish *Pygoplites diacanthus* (regal angelfish) or *Pterois volitans* (lion fish; red firefish) because of their lines. Also general term for tattooing (motif 20a).[79]

eoelap – thick lines (motif 20b).[80] Same as above, but executed thicker.

eokadikdik – tattoo like the woven rope–belt (motif 31).[81]

eloñwa – "Duck's foot" shell (*Lepas anserifera*) (motif 5). These shells are frequently found attached to driftwood, as well as on the bottom of vessels which have been in the water for a long time.[82]

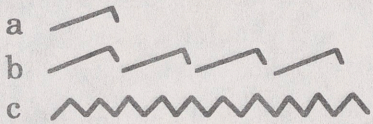
ibeiro – row of dots (motif 10b).[83]

jālili – zigzag motif (motif 1?).[84]

jikin uwe (?) – horizontal compound lines arranged in vertical groups, connected with oblique lines to the next outer group staggered by one line (motif 28).[85]

ke – dolphin motif. The dolphin motif, restricted to the arms, consists of two- or three-pronged forks, executed with double lines. This motif commonly opens to the person's front, although occasionally the open ends may be pointing outwards.[86] The porpoise or Spinner dolphin (*Stenella longirostris*, DELPHINIDAE) is very common in the nearshore waters of the atolls and often occurs in the lagoons(motif 15a/15b).[87]

kein kōm – stick to pick breadfruit (motif 1).[88] Krämer argues that the zigzag motif developed from a row of these breadfruit pickers, similar to the sequence shown below:



kilin būl – boxfish; skin of a boxfish (motif 17).[89] The skin of several box fish species is spotted with semi-rectangular motifs.

kādikdik – Tile slats, described as a double concentric parallelogram on the chest (motif 23b).[90]

kōdo – clouds, a wavy line motif (motif 4a, 4b).[91] In some instances the motifs are

separated by vertical oval motifs, possibly derived from motif 26b.[92]

lijja – obliquely set oval submotifs, conneted by lines. The meaning of the motif remains unclear (motif 3).[93]

looj – bonito (motif 13). The three prongs of the E-shaped motif are an abstraction of the three marked vertical fins which stand out far and well from the otherwise very straightlined body of the bonito (or "false albacore").[94]

lōñjak – tattoo on the chest of upper abdomen. Line tattoo with obliquely set lines (motif 7).[95]

mad pōōdpudi – "spirally peeled sticks", or intertwined sling plants, said to symbolise sexual intercourse (motif 22b, commonly running vertical).[96]

mādo – net for cleaning arrowroot or soaking breadfruit (motif 6).[97]

ñimak – teeth of the *mak* fish (needlefish). The motif resembles the tooth arrangement of the reef needlefish, *Strongylura incisus*, which is known for its numerous teeth (motif 14).[98]

pako – shark's tooth, a zigzag motif with a baseline and, often, filled–in triangular ornament fields (motif 21a, 21b).[99]

pādālijmaan – "grass stalk on which flies sit", a line with short vertical strokes on one side (motif 8).[100]

roloñjak – chest tattoo (motif 9).[101]

tokrak – firehook; stick used to spread the hot oven stones in the earth oven (*um*); (motif 11).[102]

wajid – single tattooed dot (motif 10a).[103]

wude – stepped zigzag motif (motif 32).[104]

wun (?) – a fish scale motif, commonly running vertically (motif 27).[105]

For some of the motifs shown in the catalogue (table 1) we have no name. These are:

? – horizontal rectangles aligned on a line (motif 22a; depicted horizontal for).[106]

? – series of oblique filled ovals interspersed with dots; the motif is arranged horizontally (motif 26a).[107]

? – series of oblique filled ovals; the motif is arranged horizontally (motif 26b).[108]

? – series of small diamonds without fill, aligned point to point (motif 29).[109]

? – short horizontal lines set in a stepped manner, zigzag motif (motif 25).

In addition to those motifs shown in the catalogue, there are some other motif names which have been reported, but for which we at present have no visual image:

kālaplap – "Shape of a body", described as a triple concentric parallelogram on the chest.[110]

kāboborok – a zigzag motif, "to cover the torso", commonly running vertical.[111]

kinejo – Scar tattoo (?).[112]

ninninkat – horizontal lines, usually only in the central vertical ornament field of the chest ("mast").[113]

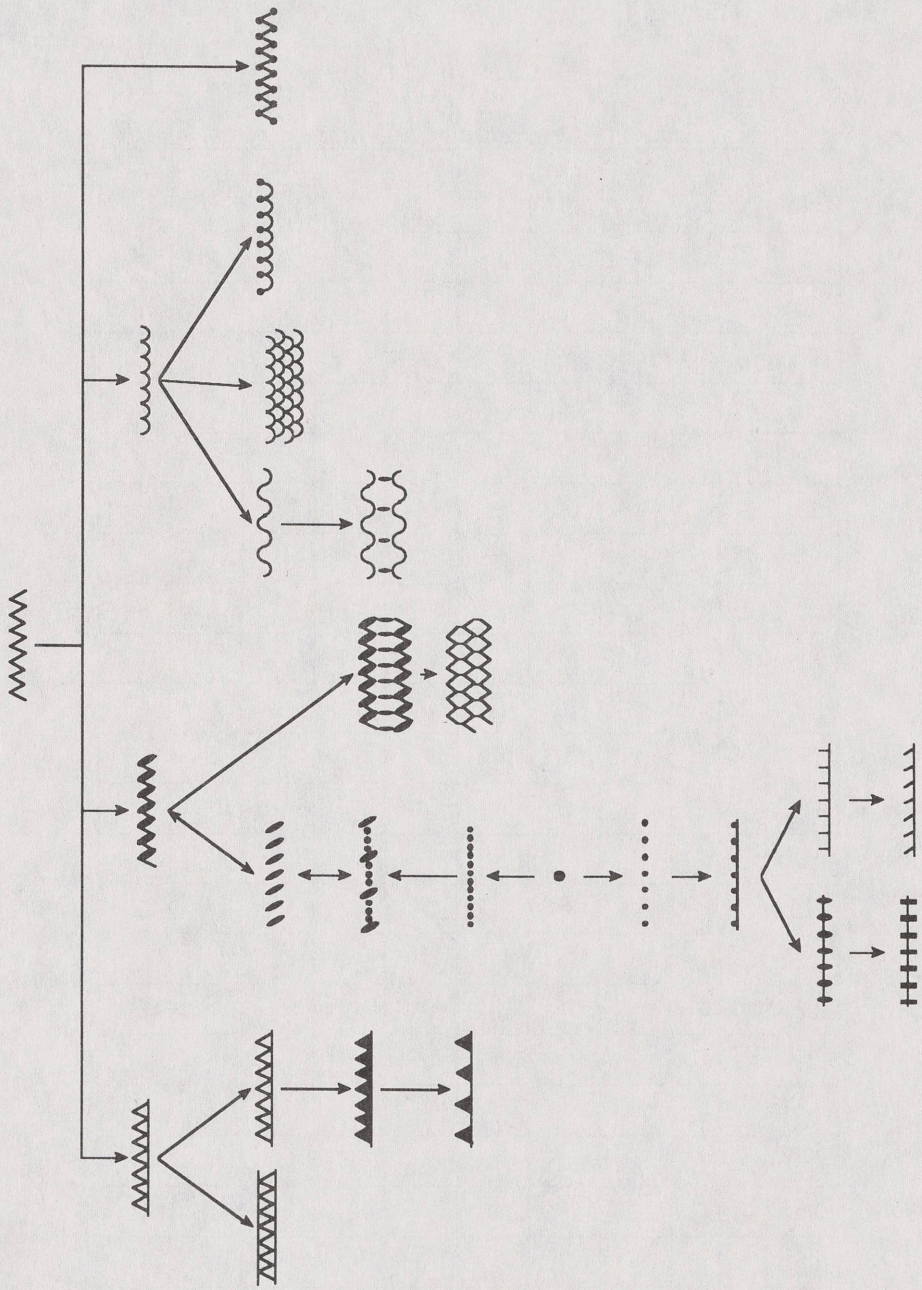


Figure 19. Possible interrelationship between several Marshallese tattoo motifs

Table 2. Occurrence of Marshallese tattoo motifs

No	Sex		Head	Upper Chest	Lower Chest	Mast	Sto-mach Band	Back Tri-an-gle	Upper Back	Lower Back
1	♂	♀	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
2	♂									
3a	♂			✓		✓				
3b	♂			✓						
4a	♂				✓		✓		✓	✓
4b	♂			✓		✓				
5	♂									
6	♂									
7	♂			✓		✓				
8	♂			✓		✓				
9	♂		✓							
10a	♂	♀				✓				
10b	♂	♀								
11	♂					✓				✓
12a	♂					✓				
12b	♂					✓				
13	♂	♀				✓				
14a		♀								
14b		♀								
15a		♀								
15b		♀								
16a		♀								
16b		♀								

various parts of the body

Shoulders	Upper Arm	Lower Arm	Hand	Finger	Buttock	Thigh	Calf	Other
	✓	✓	✓					
✓								
✓	✓							
✓		✓						
✓								
				✓				
	✓	✓						
				✓				
	✓							
	✓							
✓								
✓	✓	✓						

No	Sex		Head	Upper Chest	Lower Chest	Mast	Stomach Band	Back Triangle	Upper Back	Lower Back
16c		♀								
17	♂									
18	♂					✓				
19	♂									
20	♂	♀		✓		✓		✓		
21a										
21b		♀								
21c	♂			✓						
22a	♂			✓	✓					
22b	♂			✓	✓					
23a	♂			✓						✓
23b	♂			✓						
23c										
24a	♂							✓	✓	
24b	♂							✓	✓	
24c	♂			✓				✓	✓	
25	♂			✓				✓		
26a	♂			✓						
26b	♂			✓						
27	♂									
28	♂								✓	
29		♀								
30		♀								
31	♂									
32	♂									

Shoul-ders	Upper Arm	Lower Arm	Hand	Fin-ger	But-tock	Thigh	Calf	Other
✓								
✓								
					✓			
				✓	✓			
		✓						
						✓		
		✓						
		✓						
				✓				
✓				✓				

FREQUENCY OF TATTOES DESCRIBED

According to Erdland[114] most tattoo lines are zigzag lines, which are said to represent shark's teeth. Shark's teeth are a symbol for strongly roused passion and a feeling which the tattoos are said to be intended to create.[115]

Sometimes the transition between motifs seems to be fluent. An example would the border tattoo for a an upper chest triangle tattoo of a young chief from Jaluit (figure 26). This border tattoo consists of two sets of zigzag lines. While bottom set at the sternum area uses the *pako* motif (21a or 21b), the upper set towards the armpits uses a straight line (*eo*, motif 20a), followed by a double set of *kein kōm* motifs (1). The only difference between the *pako* motif and the *eo* and *kein kōm* combination is that the triangles created by the latter are not filled and that there is a marginal space between the lower strokes of the *kein kōm* zigzags and the *eo* line. It is quite conceivable that at a later point this space could have been filled in, creating a *pako* motif. Further, migration of pigment causes the blurring of lines, which may merge over time the *eo/kein kōm* combination to an unfilled *pako* motif.

We are are only little informed whether the tattooes would be added to and amended over time, or whether a tattoo once executed was to be left the way it was. The former, though, seems more likely.

Foreign motifs

The historical sources mention, once in a while, a tattoo motif which appears to belong to a foreign influence rather than to the motif set of the Marshallese. In 1817 Chamisso noted a tattoo motif which warrants some discussion:

"Besides this regular design, which is executed only on adults and is lacking in a few, they all have groups of symbols or lines tattooed on them as children on loins, arms, or more rarely, on the face. We noticed a few times the image of the Roman cross among those symbols".[116]

Otto Finsch in his treatise on Marshallese material culture argues that the cross observed by Chamisso was of purely accidental creation and was not intended as a specific motif.[117] On the other hand, if one looks at Pohnpeian or Palauan tattooes then it becomes apparent that Roman cross shaped tattoo motifs are rather common. In Pohnpei a large variety of such motifs was worn by both sexes on the upper arms as additions to the otherwise very formal *pelipel* tattooing (see also figure 17).[118] In Palau similar motifs were worn single or arranged as rows.[119]

With respect to the "Roman cross" Chamisso remarks in an own footnote that

"natives of the Mulgraves Islands [Mile Atoll] who climbed on board of the Charlotte [a British transport en route *from Port Jackson, Australia, to Canton in China in 1788] wore a cross hanging down their necks in the manner of the Spanish. We did not observe this adornment on Radak [Ratak] and endeavored in vain to discover any connection with Christians and Europeans in the sign that we mentioned"*[120]

What this "Roman Cross" tattoo motif indicates is less a Spanish influence as has been surmised before, but that the Marshallese population at the time included some foreigners from other atolls. Chamisso, for example, noted that Kadu, a navigator from Woleai living among the Marshallese on Aur, was tattooed in the Caroline fashion with

"faint figures of fishes and birds individually and in rows around his knees, on his arms and shoulders".[121]

It implies, in short, that there were re non Marshallese present in the Marshall Islands, who, even when seen by a casual observer, stood out from the crowd because of their differing tattoos. Being "other", defined the stranger, being "the same" identified the local.

ENTOMOLOGY OF THE MOTIFS

The entomology of the individual motif names has been explained in footnotes to the individual motif names. As has become rather obvious, the names of almost all motifs are taken from the environment. Table 3 shows the origin of the identified motifs by major category.

Table 3. Entomology of identified tattoo motifs
Entomology

Category	N	%	Rank
Fish	8	25.00	2
Shellfish	2	6.25	4
Other marine animals	2	6.25	4
Environment	2	6.25	4
Plants	1	3.13	7
Utensils	5	15.63	3
Other	12	37.50	1

The spiritual and cognitive world of the Marshallese is divided into a men's world and a women's world, although this dichotomy is not as markedly developed as in other cultures. Table 4 shows the tattoo motifs

grouped as to deriving from the men's and the women's world and compares their occurrence on men and women.

Table 4. Gender classification of tattoo motifs

	Men's		Women's		Total	
Classification	N	%	N	%	N	%
Men's world	10	41.67	8	61.54	14	42.42
Women's world	3	45.83	4	30.77	7	21.21
Indeterminate	11	12.50	13	7.69	12	36.36
Total	24	100.00	13	100.00	33	99.99

One different interpretation of the motif etymology needs to be included, if only for completeness sake. Hasebe Kotondo, a Japanese ethnographer working in Jaluit in the early 1930s, stresses the point that zigzag motifs seem to predominate and that these have been patterned after rope.[122] This, as well as the horizontal banding of the tattoo motif, led Hasebe to argue that Marshallese tattooing strongly resembles rope binding of legs and trunk. He argues, based on examples from Palau that binding of extremities with rope, strings and the like was related to sorcery and healing.[123]

MODERN TATTOO MOTIFS

Apart from the traditional motifs, Marshallese were quick to take up other motifs which took their fancy. This is especially documentable in the motifs of the mat weaving, as a great number of mats have survived in the museum collections.[124]

Given the influx of whalers and traders in the middle and late 19th century, the Marshallese had plenty of opportunities to observe the tattooing motifs of the American and European sailors. Some of these motifs were taken over. In addition, the German traders and administrators regularly received catalogues of fabric motifs as well as the common German colonial newspapers,[125] to which, at least, higher-ranking Marshallese had access to.[126] However, some of the motifs taken over were then substantially modified.

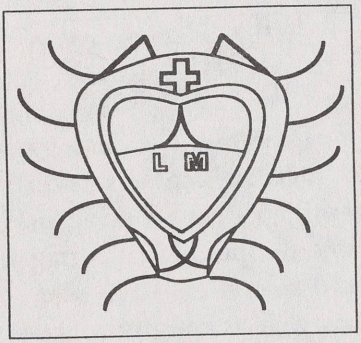


Figure 20. *"Modern" Marshallese tattoo motif at the turn of the century.*

For example, a picture taken in 1910 shows a man with a complex motif, which seems to reflect a rendering of a European crown, similar to that on the German Imperial eagle of the day with the letters "LM" underneath (figure 20). The general shape of the ornament, however, integrates a heart motif and roughly resembles a coconut split open lengthwise so as to make copra. The outer lines, resembling the legs of a spider or beetle cannot be explained.

No documentation of non-traditional tattoo motifs exists for any of the periods. A census was carried out in 1930 by Hasebe[127] but this effort was never followed up after World War II.[128]

SOCIAL AND REGIONAL VARIATION IN TATTOOING MOTIFS

At the time the Marshallese tattoos were recorded by traders and ethnographers there was little variation within the individual atolls of the Marshall Islands. However, according to oral tradition reported by A.Krämer[129] there had been a time in the distant past when the tattooing of the Ralik and Ratak Chain were markedly different.[130]

Since the Marshallese society is organised in clans (*bwij*), it is conceivable that some of the tattoo motifs used in men's and women's tattoos may be clan specific; thus using tattooing to visually differentiate between clans, while at the same time signalling that one was a Marshall Islander. A survey of the clans and their totems,[131] however, showed no such systematic correlation.[132] This may be the real case or an artefact of research given the limited scale of historic knowledge about these matters.

THE MOTIFS OF MARSHALLESE MAT WEAVING

A quick glance at Marshallese fine mats will show that many of their weaving motifs are similar to tattoo motifs. This similarity has already been noticed before by other researchers and both motif groups have been discussed in conjunction.[133] Differences in the excution technique (weaving versus punctuation) brought about some variation in the motifs but similarities remain.

Mat weaving, more than tattooing, saw an influx of new, western motifs in the form of imported fabrics. Some of the motifs were readily adapted.[134]

Krämer and Nevermann list 29 mat weaving motifs, of which three, but possibly four motifs are shared with tattooing (13.8%). These motifs represent 10.5% of the set of tattoo motifs and submotifs catalogued earlier.

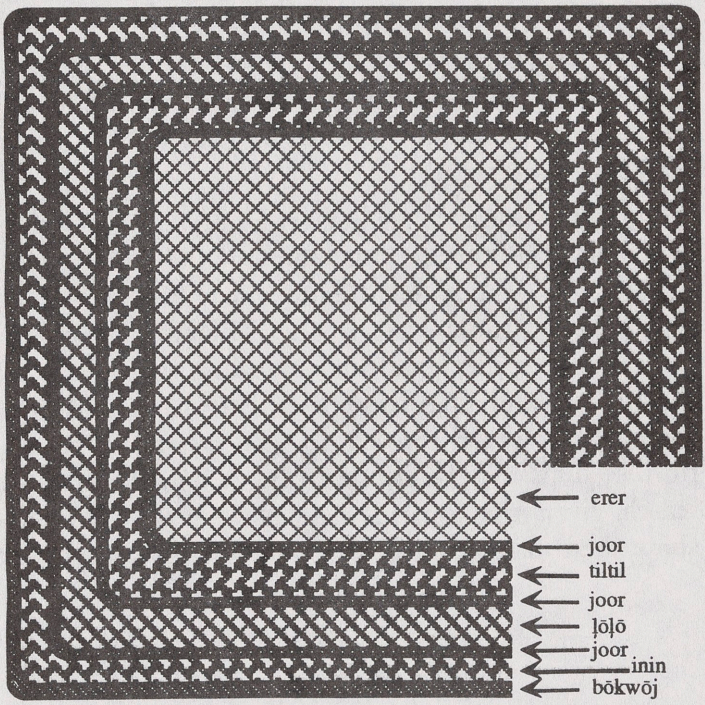


Figure 21. Structure of a Marshallese fine mat

The mat weaving motifs are set out in a series of ornament zones on a mat (figure 21). The names of these zones have connections with Marshallese society:[135]

Lōlo—(to wreathe), the offsprings in a lineage who inherit their land rights through the mother.

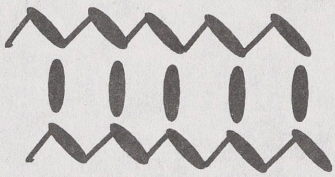
Joor—(pillar or post), the important positions held by the irooj (chiefs) and alap (lineage heads).

Tiltil— (embroidery), the offsprings of a lineage inheriting their land rights through the father.

Iñiñ— (intertwined) the special relationship between the father's and the mother's lineage.

Bokwōj—(to embrace) the parental embrace tightly safeguarding the vauable bond of love, peace and harmony among the members of the clan.

As the mat weaving motifa are arranged on the mat space, the tattoo motifs are arranged in various combinations on specific locations, so called ornament fields, on the body. In the following two sections we will look at those ornament fields and the tattoo motifs represented there. The discussion is split into men's and women's tattoos, as there are strict gender differences between the tattoo designs.



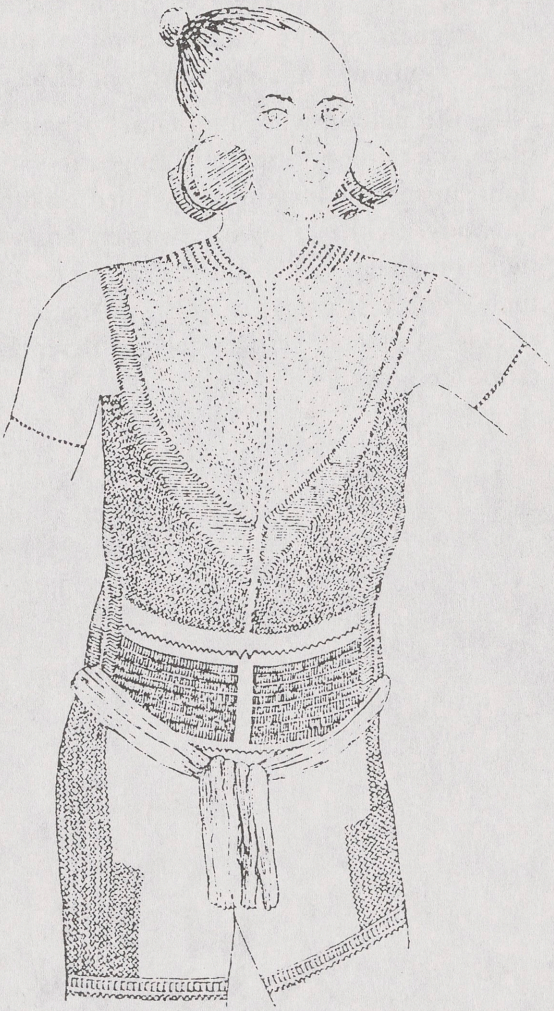


Figure 22. Marshallese man in the 1880s seen from the front (after Kubary 1887).

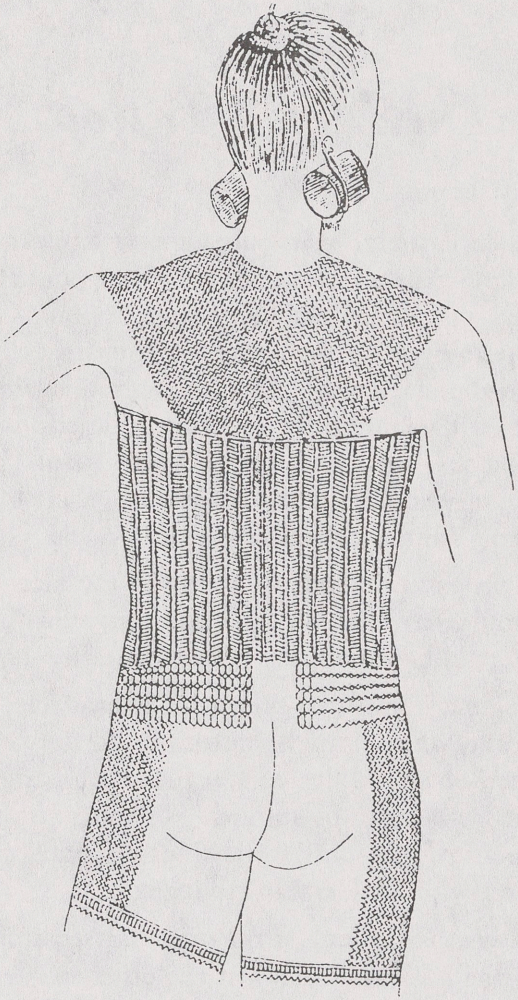


Figure 23. Marshallese man in the 1880s seen from the back (after Kubary 1887).

The Men's Tattoos

In their entirety, Marshallese men's tattoes are very striking. As a number of authors have pointed out, a completely tattooed Marshallese man appears—at least for European eyes—to be dressed in a chainsuit, resembling a medieval knight.[136] A men's tattoo is laid out in a series of ornament zones which bear descriptive Marshallese names, such as "mast", "ocean swell", "boat", "clouds" and the like, all of which find their origin in the seafaring nature of Marshallese men.

With the exception of the tattoo of the face and the upper shoulders, which was the prerogative of the irooj, all men (could have) had the same basic tattoo lay-out.

There are a number of photographs available, mainly in black and white, but the tattoos stand out only in a few of them to such a degree that the tattoo patterns and ornament lay-out can be studied.[137] The mainstay of the documentation rests on the drawings reproduced by the early visitors and the German ethnographers.

Let us first have a look at the men's chest tattoos, then those on the back and finally at the other smaller tattoo areas, such as arms, legs, buttocks, face and so on.

CHEST TATTOOES

According to Chamisso, poet and naturalist on the Russian exploring expedition 1815-1817, among Marshallese men the chests and backs are preferentially tattooed, while the women have their arms, as well as their shoulders ornamented.[138] The basic designs seem to have been stable for a long time. In 1817, according to Chamisso,

> *"the artistically delicate tattooing .... [i]n men ... forms a triangle that encompasses shoulders and chest and comes to a point at the navel and consists of smaller, variously connected lines. Similarly well–ordered horizontal lines frame the back and the abdomen."*[139]

A complete men's chest tattoo consists of three main tattoo components, which can be added to. These main areas are the upper and the lower chest triangle as well as a central vertical ornament field (figure 24).

The *upper chest triangle* (*menin lob*)[140] is an ornament field defined by a line reaching from shoulder to shoulder at the level of the supra sternale and a line from each shoulder to a point between the nipples. This ornament field carries the meaning of a canoe or boat.[141] Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *kein kōm* (motif 1a), *lijja* (motif 3), *kōdo* (motif 4), *lōñjak* (motif 7), *pako* (motif 21b), *kadikdik* (motifs 23a & 23b) and motif 26.

The *lower chest triangle* (*ittüt*)[142] is an ornament field defined at the top by the upper chest triangle and towards the bottom and sides by a line from each armpit to the navel. The meaning of this field are those waves reflected from the land.[143] Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *kein kōm* (motif 1a) and *kōdo* (motif 4a).

Both chest triangles are split into two halves by the *central vertical ornament field* (*kiju*)[144], which is defined by the supra sternale, the upper part of the sternum, at the top and the navel at the bottom. This field bears the meaning of "mast". Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *lijja* (motif 3), *kōdo* (motif 4b), *lōñjak*(motif 7), *wajid* (motif 10a), *tokrak* (motif 11), *anijjar* (motif 12a & 12b), *looj* (motif 13) and *dānnin wōt* (motif 18).

Added to these three main components could be other ornament fields, such as a shoulder tattoo (see next section), a tattoo on the side of the chest or a stomach band. A *tattoo on the side of the chest*, between the arm and the torso, called *eokat*,[145] is limited to the *irooj*. Tattooing motifs in this ornament field are mainly zigzag lines (*kein kōm*, motif 1) and wavy-lines (*kōdo* motif 4).[146] The *stomach band* is a belt-like ornament field running horizontally over the stomach area. This band, which may be—partially—intersected by the mast and the lower part of the lower chest triangle, commonly consisted of wavy patterns and is said to signify clouds.[147] Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *kein kōm* (motif 1a) and especially *kōdo* (motif 4a).

Hasebe also lists another ornament field on the chest, called *anijjar*,[148] a term which Krämer addresses as a motif. According to Hasebe,[149] the term *ingidjar* stands on Maloelap Atoll for a single zigzag line separating the upper and lower chest triangles. According to another of Hasebe's informants from Kwajalein[150] this border line is called *apar*.[151]

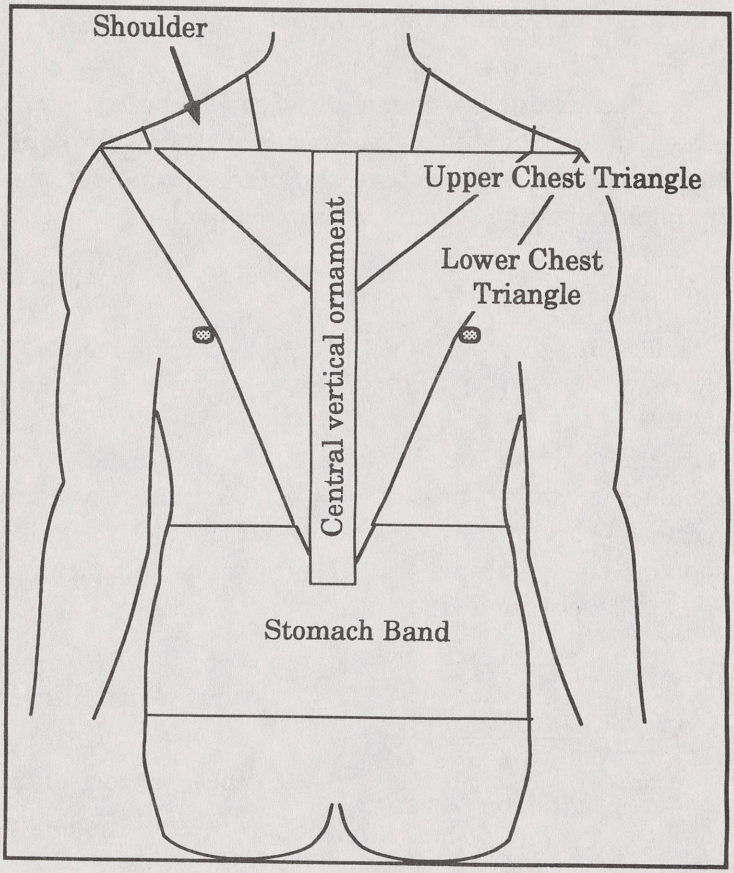


Figure 24 Lay-out of a man's chest tattoo

SHOULDER TATTOOS

The area above the upper chest triangle can—optionally—be filled with a *shoulder tattoo (waurok)*, which is laid out in horizontal ornament bands. On the back the shoulder tattoo also ends in a horizontal line connecting the shoulders. Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *eodikdik* (motif 31), *Bōd eo Lōbōllōñ*

(motif 2), *kõdo* (motif 4a), *elongwa* (motif 5), *kilin bül* (motif 17).

In addition, the upper part of the shoulder can be decorated (*borok*)[152] with zigzag lines, which flow without clear separation into the back and head tattoo. This upper shoulder tattoo is restricted to men of chiefly rank.

DESCRIPTION OF SELECTED CHEST AND SHOULDER TATTOOS

In the following a selection of complete men's chest and shoulder tattoo, which have been recorded in the past by means of photography or drawing, will be described. It should be kept in mind that the number of documented tattoos is very limited.

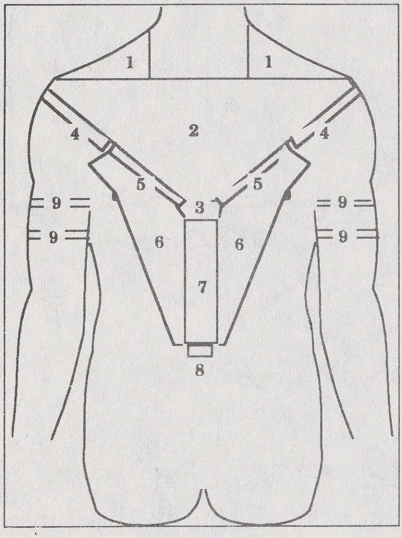


Figure 25. Ornament zones of a chest tattoo of a young chief from Jaluit

Young chief from Jaluit

The chest tattoo of a young chief from Jaluit Atoll (figure 26)[153] consists of three main components, *menin leob*, *ittut* and *kiju*, with an additional shoulder tattoo and arm tattoos. In total nine different ornament and sub-ornament zones can be identified (figure 25). The upper chest triangle is decorated with a horizontal bands of dots interspersed at reg-

ular intervals by oblique strokes (motif 26a). This zone is bordered by a double zigzag line towards the lower chest triangle. This double zigzagline is set in two groups, an upper group, which shows a single *eo* line (20a) and then a double set of proper *kein kōm* zigzag motifs (1), while the lower group utilises the *pako* motif (21a or 21b). The points of the *pako* triangles point downward.

The lower chest triangle has slightly indented sides, with the nipples as the turning points. The field is covered with oblique *kein kōm* zigzag (motif 1).

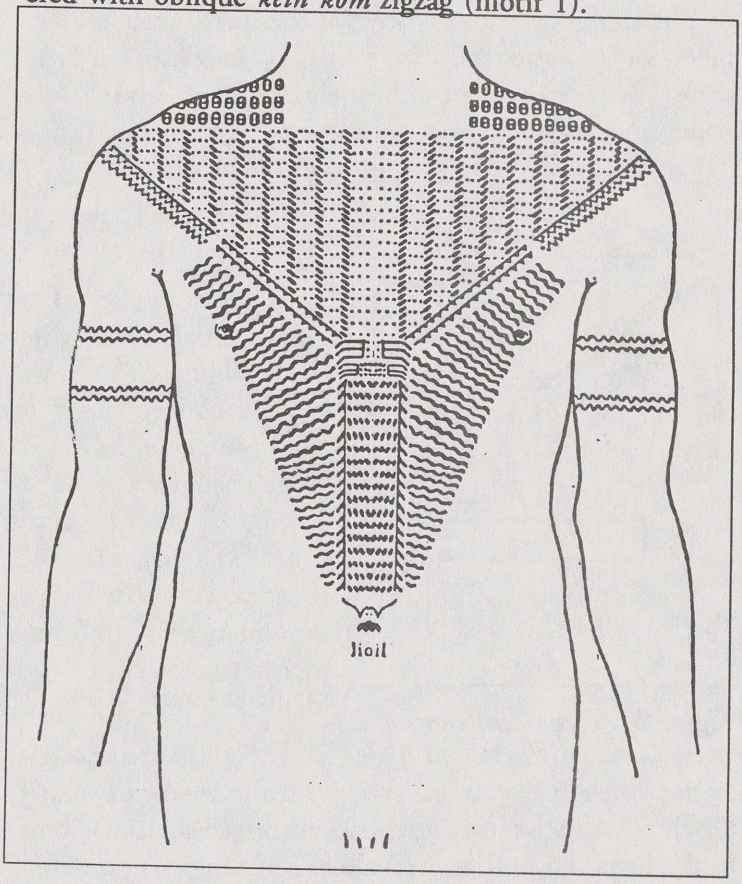


Figure 26. Chest tattoo of a young chief from Jaluit (1910s).[154]

The central mast ornament field is well distinguishable from the upper chest triangle for the want of oblique strokes. At the junction of the upper chest triangle and the lower chest triangle the mast shows two pairs of three-pronged *annijjar* motifs (12b). The lower mast section consists of a series of oblique strokes, similar to those in the upper chest triangle, but without the interspersed dots (motif 26b). This lower mast section is bordered by either *lōñjak*(7) or *pādālijmaan* (8) motifs. The mast ends in a navel ornament, the *dānnin wōt* (18).

The shoulder sections, save for the throat area, are tattooed with rows of *kilin bül* motifs (17). The upper arms show two sets of doubble zigzag lines giving the appearance of bands worn on the arms. The frontal tattoo has all ornament fields save for the stomach band.

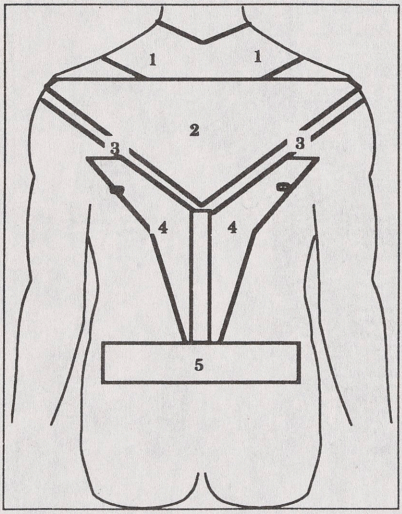


Figure 27. Ornament zones of a chest tattoo of chief from Mile

Young chief from Mile

The chest tattoo of a young chief from Mile Atoll (figure 28) shows all the components: it has an upper and a lower chest triangle, a mast, a stomach band and shoulder/neck tattoos. In total, nine different ornament and subornament zones could be identified (figure 27).

The upper chest triangle which is evenly covered with the *kadikdik* motif (23c), is well set out and reaches from the shoulder joint to the lower end of the sternale. The triangle is bordered both towards the shoulders and towards the lower chest

triangle with continuous zigzag line (*kein kōm* 1). At the upper border only the throat area is spared. The border band towards the lower chest triangle is then split into two segments. On both sides the upper segment consists of two additional *kein kōm* lines, while the lower segment consists of a wide *lōñjak*motif (7).

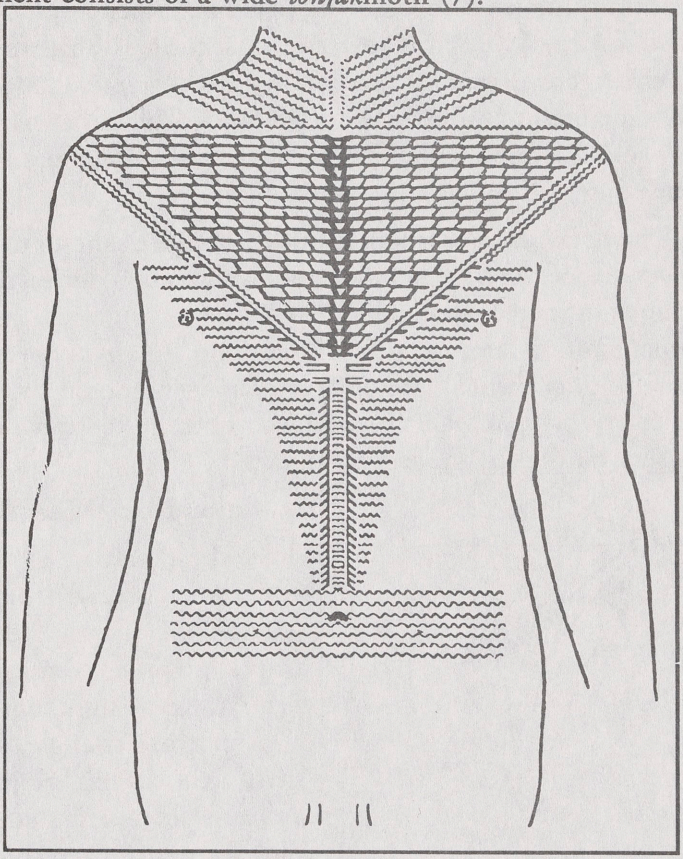


Figure 28. Chest tattoo of a chief from Mile

The lower chest triangle, which has indented sides with the turning points approximately at the lower rib area consists of horizontally aligned *kein kōm* zigzag lines (1). The central mast ornament field is not well distinguishable in the upper chest triangle. Only the

change in the orientation of the offsets indicates a break in the ornament. Like the tattoo of the young Jaluit chief (figure 26) the chest tattoo of the Mile chief shows two pairs of three-pronged *anijjar* motifs (no12b) at the junction of the upper chest triangle and the lower chest triangle the mast. The lower mast section consists of a series of multi-pronged horizontal motif units, either *looj* (13) or *addijokur* (30). This lower mast section is bordered by either *pādālijmaan* (8) or, more likely, *lōñjak*(7) motifs. The mast ends in the stomach band. The rather narrow stomach band, which begins slightly above the navel, consists of horizontal *kōdo* motifs (4a).

The neck tattoo reached from the shoulder zone to the lower border of the mandible and consists a series of oblique oriented zigzag lines (*kein kōm*?, 1), with the direct frontal area at the throat and Adam's apple spared. This vertical, tattoo free zone is bordered by a series of dots (*ibeiro*, 10b), aligned vertically to provide a clean border for the jagged zigzags.

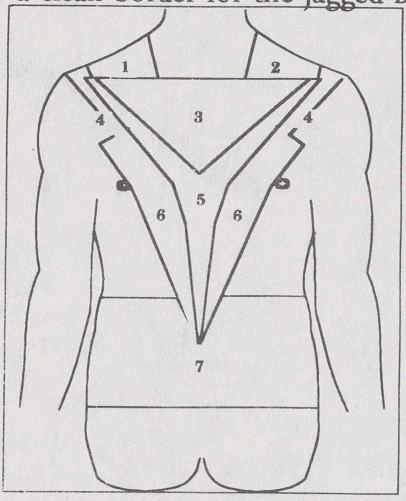


Figure 29 Ornament zones of a chest tattoo of a commoner from Mile

Kajur from Mile

The chest tattoo of a commoner (*kajur*) from Mile Atoll (figure 30) shows all the components: it has an upper and a lower chest triangle, a mast, a stomach band and shoulder/neck tattoos. In total, seven different ornament and subornament zones could be identified (figure 29). Thus it is, on the whole, similar to the previous tattoos, yet in

its details it differs substantially. For one, the shoulder and neck tattoo does not cover the neck as such, and the mast is not as well defined as in the two irooj tattoos described previously. Another major difference is the lack of the set of *anijjar* motifs in the mast at the point where upper chest triangle joins the mast.

In the tattoo, the upper chest triangle is composed of rows of interconnected, filled oblique ovals (*lijja* 3a) which are connected with vertical filled ovals (motif 3b). The chest triangle does not have a well defined border as the previous tattoos. Instead, a wide new ornament field is introduced consisting of sets of *tokrak* motifs (11). This field, which has an overall Y-shaped appearance, converges into a mast, where the *tokrak* motifs are arranged symmetrically. The mast runs out in a pointed fashion at the navel, where it is joined with the lower chest triangle.

The lower chest triangle is comprised of oblique oriented zigzag lines (*kein kōm*?, motif 1). At the area of the arm pits the new Y-shaped ornament field is bordered by two short zigzag lines (*kein kōm*) set at right angles to the previous zone. The sides of the triangle are slightly indented, the turning points being in the area of the nipples.

The quite broad stomach band begins well above the navel and reaches far down, apparently to the onset of the pubic triangle. The band, which is intersected by the pointed lower parts of the mast and lower chest triangle, consists of horizontal *kōdo* motifs (4a).

The shoulder ornament, which keeps the entire neck and throat area free, shows two different tattooing motifs. The right shoulder is covered with vertically aligned rows of the *elongwa* motif (5), which in the applied orientation seems a set of wide-spaced zigzag

lines with dots at the turning points, the *Bōd eo Lōbōllōñ* motif (2).

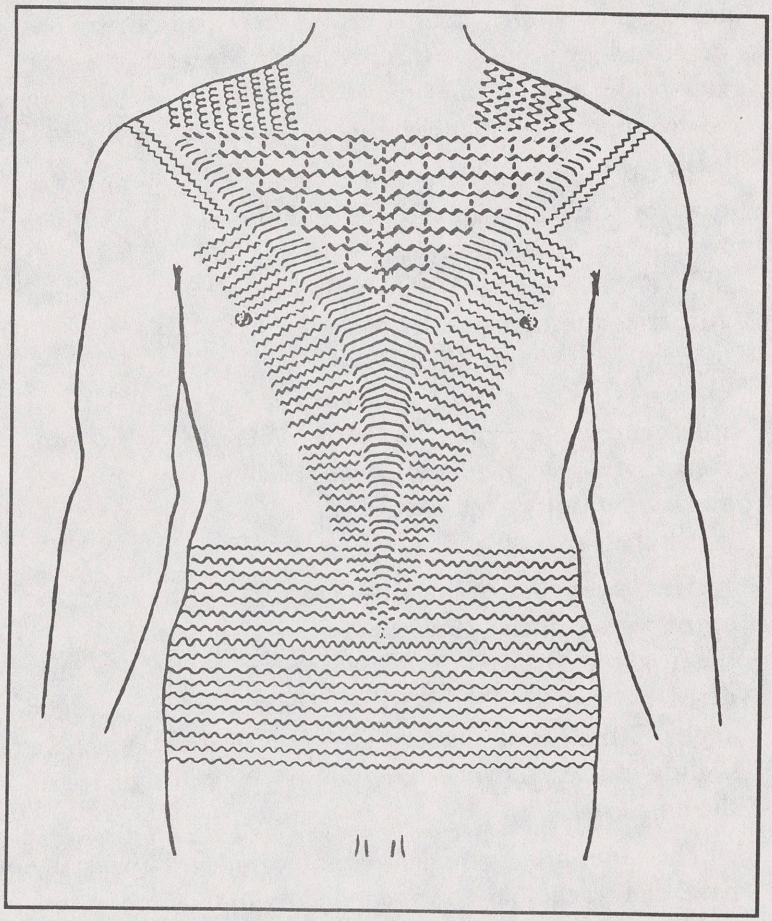


Figure 30. Chest tattoo of a commoner (kajur) *from Mile Atoll in the 1900s.*

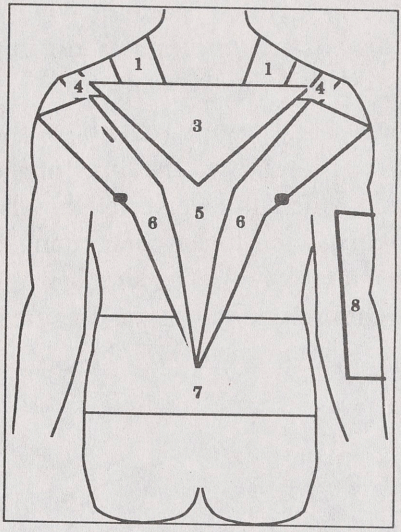


Figure 31 *Ornament zones of a chest tattoo of a young chief from Jaluit Atoll*

Another young chief from Jaluit

The chest tattoo of a young chief from Jaluit Atoll (figure 32) is similar in lay-out to the previous tattoo. It too shows all the components: it has an upper and a lower chest triangle, a mast, a stomach band and shoulder/neck tattoos. Further, an area on the arm is tattooed. In total, eight different ornament and subornament zones could be identified (figure 31).

In the tattoo, the upper chest triangle is composed of rows of interconnected filled oblique ovals (*lijja* motif 3a) which are connected with vertical filled ovals (motif 3b). The chest triangle does not have well defined border as the first two tattoos. Instead a wide new ornament field is introduced consisting of sets of *tokrak* motifs (11). This field, which has an overall Y-shaped appearance, converges into a mast, where the *tokrak* motifs are arranged symmetrically. The mast runs out in a pointed fashion at the navel, where it is joined with the lower chest triangle.

The lower chest triangle is comprised of oblique oriented zigzag lines (*kein kōm*?, motif 1). At the area of the arm pits the new Y-shaped ornament field is bordered by four short zigzag lines (*kein kōm*) set at right angles to the previous zone. The shape of this triangle are fairly complex. It has a rather wide base, reaching well

onto the upper arm, and uses the nipples as a turning point. It runs out in pointed fashion in the navel area.

The quite broad stomach band begins well above the navel and reaches far down, apparently to the onset of the pubic triangle. The band, which is intersected by the pointed lower parts of the mast and lower chest triangle, consists of horizontal *kōdo* motifs (4a). The shoulder ornament, which keeps the entire neck and throat area free, shows two zones of oblique zigzags (*kein kōm*, 1).

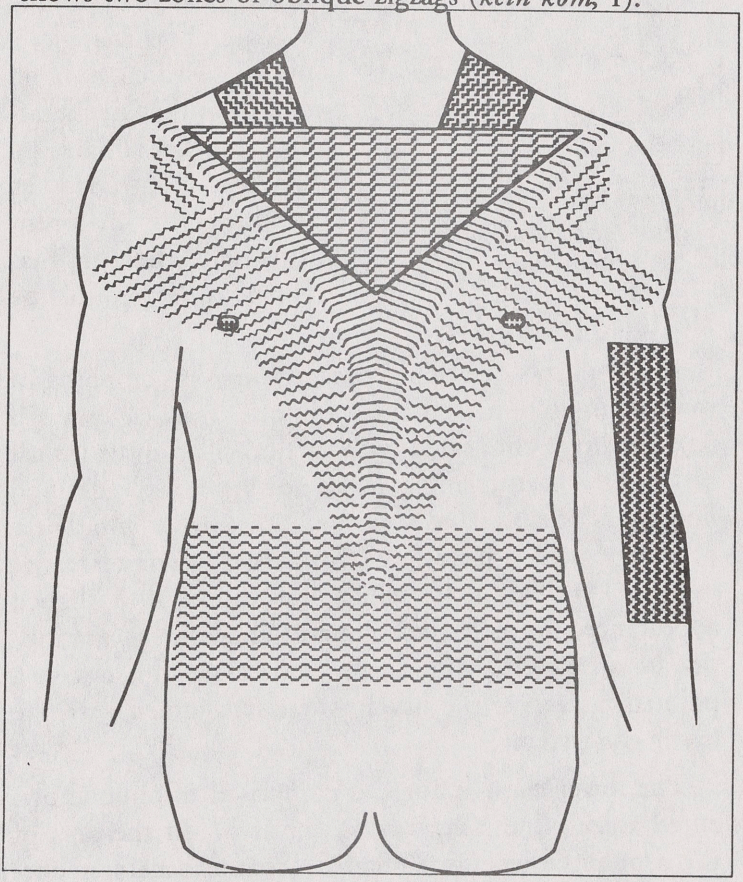


Figure 32 Chest tattoo of a young chief from Jaluit Atoll (1900s)

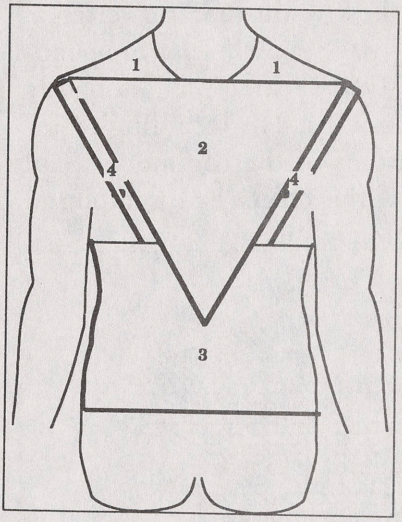


Figure 33 Ornament zones of a chest tattoo of a man from Mile Atoll (1930s)

Another kajur from Mile

Hasebe depicts a very unusual chest tattoo, which lacks both the mast and the lower chest triangle (figure 33). Instead, there is a very large upper chest triangle made up of rows of interconnected filled oblique ovals (*lijja* motif 3a) which are connected with vertical filled ovals (motif 3b). The area which runs out in a point at the navel area, is well defined by a double zigzag border (*kein kōm* ?, 1). The stomach area is covered with a very wide stomach band which is intersected by the pointed lower parts of the upper chest triangle, consists of horizontal *kōdo* motifs (4a).

The shoulder ornament, which keeps the entire neck and throat area free, shows two zones of oblique zigzags (*kein kōm*, 1) set in a different orientation.

BACK TATTOOES

Apart from the shoulder zone, the tattoos on the men's back consist of three ornament fields, the back triangle and upper back band and the lower back field.

The *back triangle* (*wo eo*)[155] is an ornament field defined by a line between the two shoulders and two lines

running from the shoulders to a point between the shoulder blades, as far down as the seventh thoracic vertebra. This field is called "ocean" or "sea".[156] Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include predominantly zigzag motifs (*kein kōm* motif No 1). According to informants to Hasebe the tattoos of the commoners had single lines, while those of the chiefs had compound lines, making the tattoo more prominent.[157]

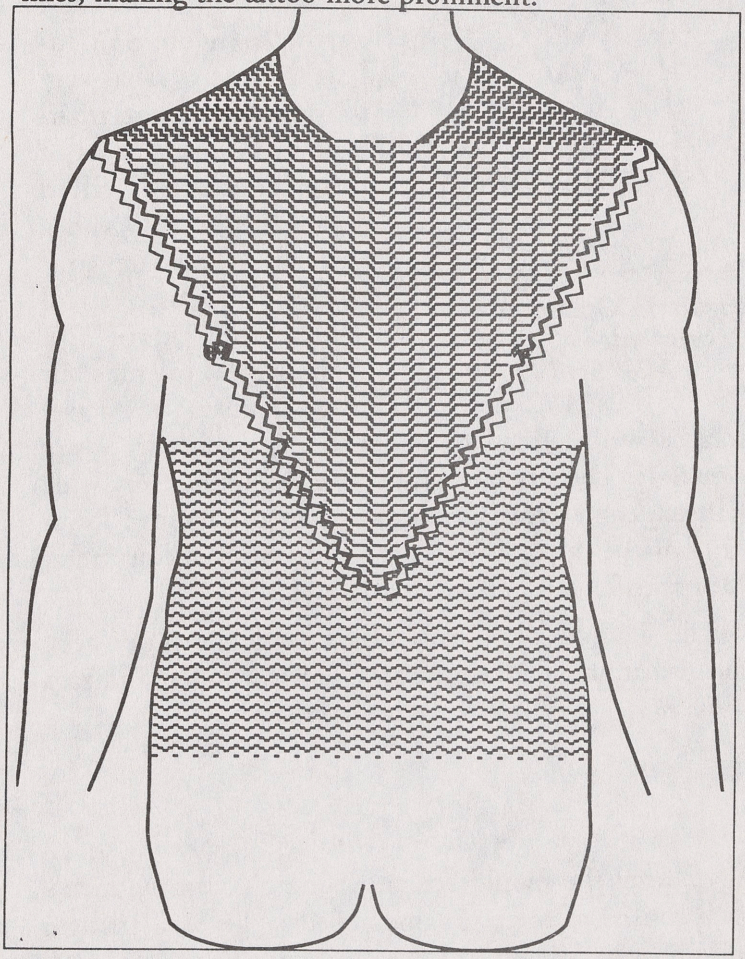


Figure 34. Chest tattoo of a man from Mile Atoll (1930s)[158]

This back triangle is often bordered by two or three parellel executed zigzag lines running at right angles to the main fill of the field.[159]

The *upper back band* (*eotelap*)[160] is a horizontal band of varying width, running below the back triangle. It runs from the arm pit to the arm pit. The width of the band has been described as "one hand span".[161] The tattoo motifs are horizontal, but aligned in such a manner that they form vertical groups, referred to as posts (*joor*).[162] These vertical groups are well defined and laid out symmetrically. From the spine going to the side, Marshallese distinguished between two "spine posts" (*joor in dilep*)[163] two "back posts" (*joor in limolik*)[164] and three "front posts" (*joor in limoar*).[165] The explanation for the individual terms thus could point to parts of chiefly or meeting house. On the other hand, the upper back band is said to represent the sea.[166] In view of this an entirely different interpretation is possible, based on *joor in dilep* which is also a used term for a wave feature in Marshallese navigation.[167] While the spine posts are the central wave reflected from the island, the other two posts are the waves reflected from the ocean and the lagoon side of the island.[168]

Hasebe counted eleven vertical groups (posts) on the two complete tattoos he could investigate in 1932. These vertical groups consiste of three or four groups of compound horizontal lines connected by oblique lines to the lines of the next outer adjacent column, staggered by one line. Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *kein kōm* (motif 1a), *kōdo* (motif 4a), *tokrak* (motif 11), and *kādikdik* (motif 23a).

The *lower back field* (*tokrak*)[169] is bordered by the upper back band at its top and the beginning of the os sacrum at the bottom. Tattooing motifs seen in this or-

nament field are almost exclusively *kein kōm* (motif 1a), *kōdo* (motif 4a) and *jikin uwe (?)* (motif 28).[170]

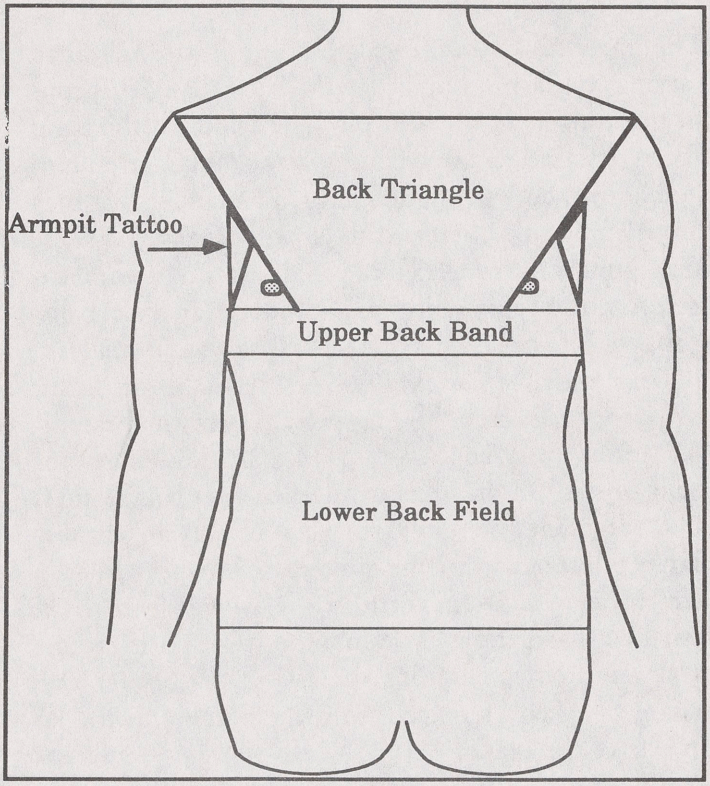


Figure 35. Lay-out of a men's back tattoo

DESCRIPTION OF SELECTED BACK AND SHOULDER TATTOOS

In the following a selection of complete back and shoulder tattoos, which have been recorded in the past, will be described. For the following tattoo we also have the chest tattoo on record (figure 26).

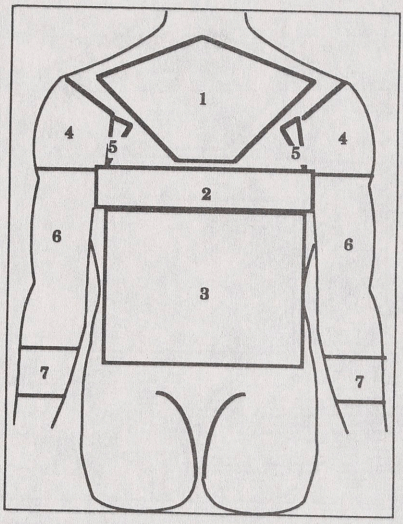


Figure 36 *Ornament zones of a back tattoo of Kabua*

Irooj of Jaluit

The back tattoo of Kabua, *irooj laplap* of Jaluit and most of the Ralik Chain, consists of the upper back triangle, the upper back band and the lower back field, as well as an armpit tattoo and the tattooing of the arms.

The lower back field consists of the complex *tokrak* motif (24c). The field covers the entire back from the last thoracic vertebrae to the beginning of the os sacrum area. The upper thorarcic area is covered with the upper back band, consisting of ten sets of double lines (*eo*) arranged in vertical groups. On both sides of the spine is a short group, the *joor in dilep*, parallel to which are two groups of short strokes, the *joor in limolik*. On the outside are three vertical groups of wider lines, the *joor in limoar*. This upper back band goes around the torso and is tattooed partially under the arms. Above the upper back is the upper back triangle, which consists of oblique zigzag lines (*kein kōm* ?, 1). The sides of the triangle reach the shoulder at the end of the end of the clavicle. This line runs parallel to the upper boundary of the upper arm ornament, which begins at the shoulder blade pit and runs to the shoulder joint. A small triangular ornament field exists between the upper back triangle and the upper back band: the armpit attoo. This ornament field, which in its pointed lower end begins at the arm pit, extends upward to the shoulder blade and acts as a

prolongation of the ornamanet field of the upper arm tattoo. It is covered with zigzag lines.

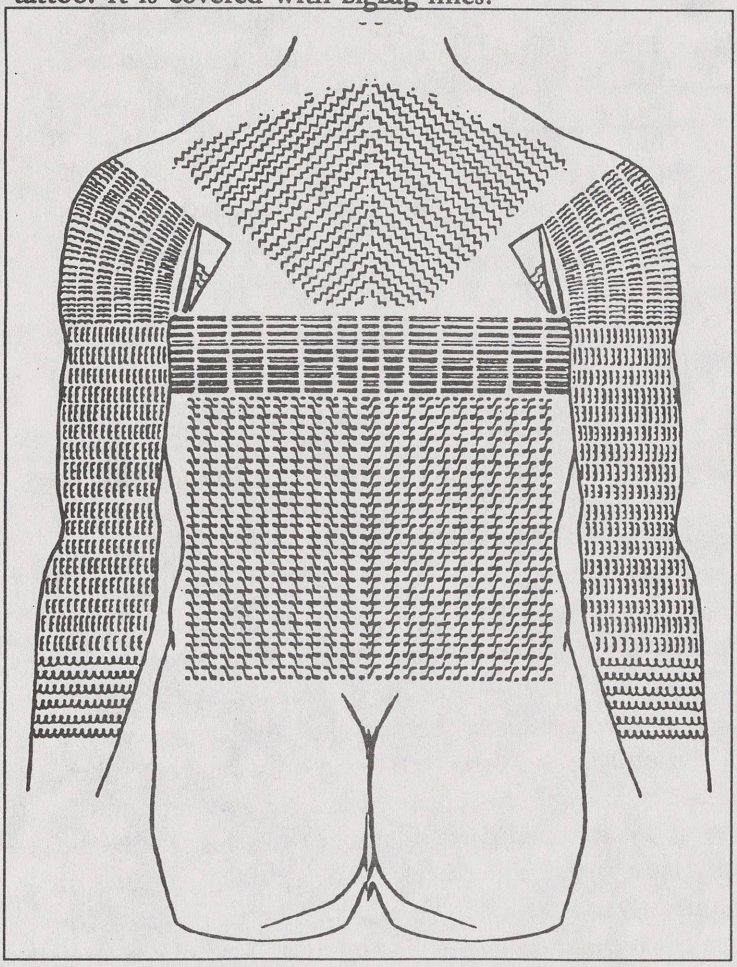


Figure 37. Back tattoo of Kabua, irooj laplap *of Jaluit (1903?).*[171]

The upper arm areas are covered with horizontally arranged *looj* motifs (13), with the prongs pointing downwards. The upper arm area ranges from the above mentioned line, shoulderblade to shoulder joint, to the lower end of the deltoid muscle. The area from the

lower end of the deltoid to the midle of the lower arm is covered with vertically arranged *looj* motifs, with their prongs pointing towards the body. The lower arm area from the middle of the lower arm to the wrist is covered with *elōñwa* motifs (5), which are suspended from the middle arm ornaments.

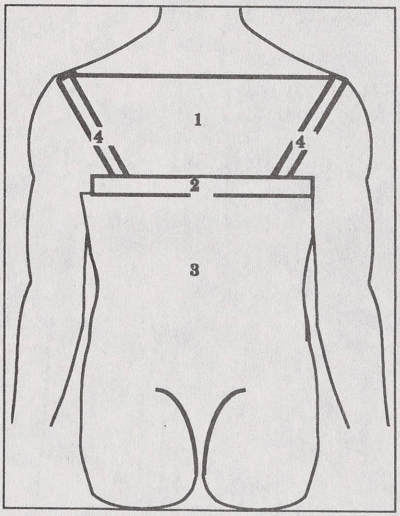


Figure 38. *Ornament zones of a back tattoo of a man from Mile (1930s)*

Kajur from Mile

In the 1930s Hasebe reproduced the back tattoo of a man from Mile. Here the lower back field was ornamented with vertically arranged thick zigzag lines (*kein kōm*, 1) while the upper back band was made up from single, horizontal zigzag lines (*kein kōm*?, 1). The upper back triangle was covered with oblique zigzag lines and bordered with four sets of long zizgzag lines (*kein kōm*) running from the shoulder joint to the upper lumbar region.

If this tattoo is correctly rendered, then the motif and ornament field arrangement for this tattoo, as well as the underlying spiritual reasoning differs substantially from that used for Kabua's back tattoo. In view of the sparsity of known back tattoo arrangements, we cannot conclude whether this difference is due to a difference in the individual's rank, or whether the Mile tattoo is a mere corruption of the traditional lay-out, brought about by time and lack of tattooing practices.

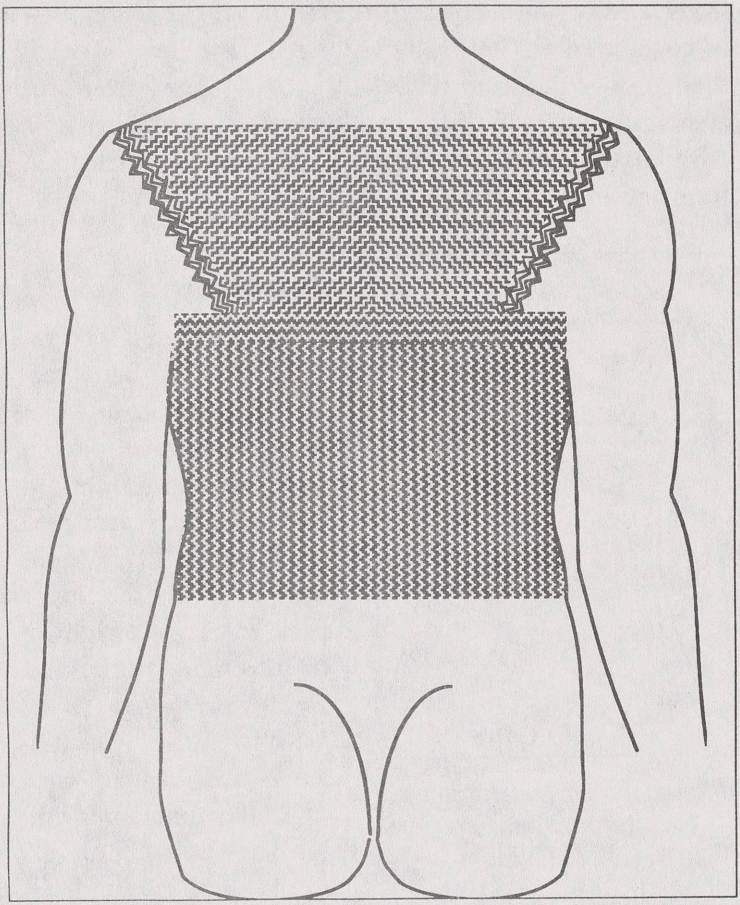


Figure 39. Back tattoo of a a man from Mile (1930s)[172]

NECK AND HEAD TATTOOES

While the chest, back and shoulder tatoos common among men, neck and head tattoos were restricted to males of chiefly rank.[173] The *neck tattoo* (*eooten-boro*)[174] consists of horizontal bands running around the neck, leaving only the area of the Adam's apple free.[175] Above the level of the lower jaw, this tattoo continues at the

back of the neck all the way up to the hairline, but ends at the ears, to make space for the face tattoo (figure 41). This tattoo has the meaning of a a magic necklace.[176]

The *face tattoo* (*eoon-maj*)[177] consists of vertical lines running from the eyes to the rim of the lower jaw. In the front these lines can also extend onto part of the neck. Forehead, face and chin are commonly free of any tattooing. Often, the frontal parts are the cheeks are also left unornamented.[178]

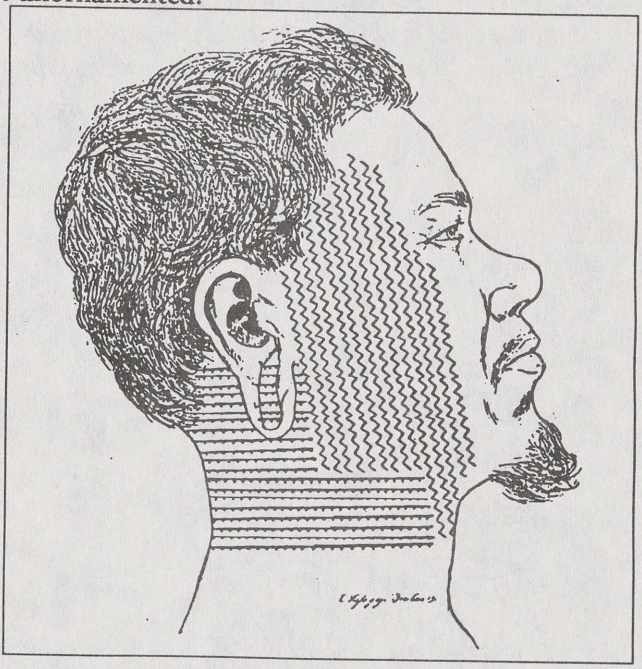


Figure 41. Head tattoo of irooj *Laninat of Mile. Note the pierced and extended earlobes.*

A photograph of *irooj laplap* Murjel of Maloelap taken in 1887 shows him clothed in European dress. Yet both the extended earlobes and the neck and cheek tattoo, similar to that shown in figure 40 are clearly visible.[179] The photograph does not show any tattooed lines in the face or the forehead itself, thus confirming

Krämer's assertion. Hasebe (1932), however, depicts a drawing of the face of *irooj* Moses of Aur Atoll,[180] which shows both tattoo marks on neck and cheek, but also lines on the chin and across the face (figure 41).

A British visitor to the Marshall Islands in the 1870s, not a resident or trader of this part of the world, made the following, pertinent comment:

> *"In one of these canoes there was another king; and I find that the chiefs may always be distinguished from the common people by their being tattooed in parallel blue stripes from the base of the ear to the chin."*[181]

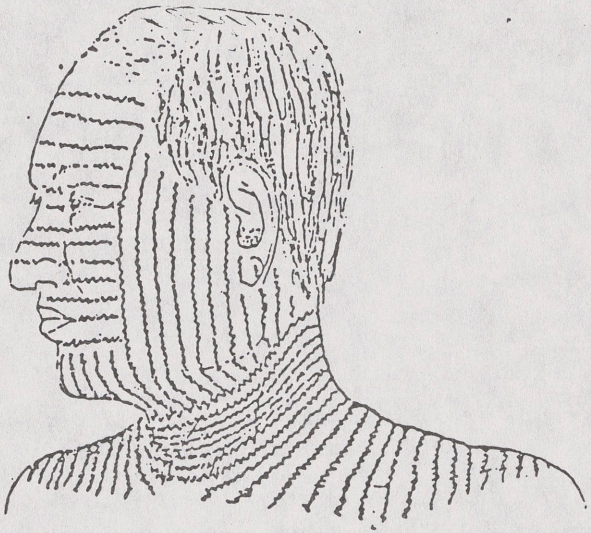


Figure 41. Face tattoo of irooj Moses from Aur Atoll (1930s)[182].

ARM TATTOOES

The tattooing of the arms is extremely variable. It can consist of a few lines and in its full extent can reach from the armpits to the wrists. A full tattoo is traditionally divided into three main areas, the area of the upper arm, the area area of the lower arm and the central part in between. Unlike in other areas, the inside of the arms was commonly not tattooed in the Marshallese tattoos.

The *area of the upper arm*[183] covering the deltoid muscle, is bordered by a line drawn between the armpit and the shoulder (onset of the caput humeris), while the lower border is less well defined, but often matches the upper margin of the upper back band. The tattoo motifs are commonly horizontal and aligned in vertical groups which emphasise the outline of the arm. Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *kein kōm* (motif 1a), and *kōdo* (motif 4a). On one occasion documented the entire area of the upper arm had been ornamented with a tattoo. The motif used was the *looj* (motif 13), which was arranged in densely set rows of horizontally aligned motifs.

The *area of the lower arm* extends about halfway between the elbow and the wrist to the wrists itself. Tattoo motifs are arranged vertically and are aligned in small horizontal groups, giving the arm a ringed appearance. Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include *kein kōm* (motif 1a), *pako* (motif 21b), and *wun* (motif 27).

The *central part in between* is commonly left blank. In the few instances where a tatoo is known, such as the tattoo of Kabua, the entire ornament zone is covered with densely set, vertically alingned *looj* motifs (motif 13).

Very common was the tattooing of only a couple of bands around the upper arm.[184] These bands, mainly us-

ing horizontal zigzag lines (*kein kōm*, motif 1a), go all around the arm in the form of a bracelet (*lukwo* or *rojañpe*).[185] Hasebe's 1930 census of 238 men showed 56 to be tattooed with indigenous motifs. Of these the overwhelming majority (48) had only horizontal bands around their arms, as well as their legs.

LEG TATTOOES

Leg tattoos (*wunne*)[186] are commonly restricted to the front and the middle of the outside of the upper thigh (figure 42).[187] Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include vertically aligned zigzag lines (*kein kōm*? motif 1) and the otherwise quite rare motifs 22a and 22b, said to symbolise "spirally peeled sticks" or "intertwined slingplants", both symbols of sexual intercourse.[188] Most leg tattooes, however, are restricted to a few double lines or bands of the wavy-line (*kōdo* motif 4) or zigzag motif (*kein kōm* motif 1) on their thighs and their calfs.

OTHER TATTOOS

In addition to the main tattoos mentioned, men were sometimes tattooed next to the armpits, the buttocks, and the penis.

The *buttock tattoo*[189] consists of a rectangular band which covers the lower os sacrum area and the occasionally the side of the buttocks. Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include turtle shell motif (*bod* motif 19), which can sometimes extend to the hip. Close to the thighs the otherwise quite rare motifs 22a and 22b can also be found.[190]

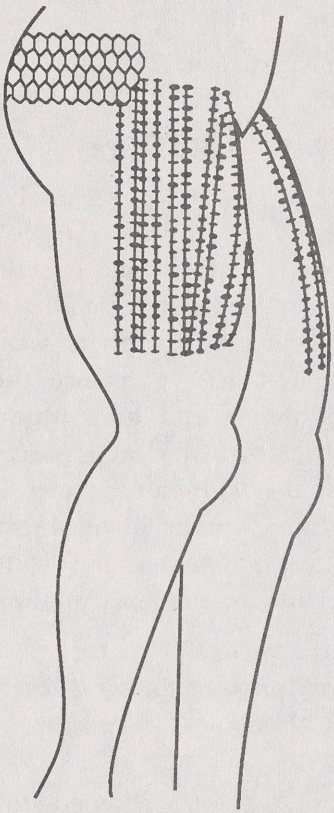


Figure 42 Men's leg tattoo.[191]

The *tattoo next to the armpit*[192] was executed on the person's back. It was a small triangle with the base pointing upwards and the tip pointing towards the side. This tattoo, which was very rare even at the end of last century, was primarily a chiefly tattoo, but may have been permitted for other men as well..[193] This ornament field was recorded as seen once and was ornamented with zigzag lines (***kein kōm***, 1).

A further tattoo, apparently also confined to men of chiefly rank, was the *tattooing of the penis* including the glans. No details on motifs used or the frequency of occurrence are known.

It has been pointed out by some scholars[194] that the areas mainly covered by tattooes are those which are not covered with clothing. This seems to be borne out by the evidence compiled. Thus in the case of Marshallese men, the main dress to be worn would have left the upper body and arms, as well as the sides of the thighs and possibly parts of the buttocks (when squatting) exposed. These were the areas which were tattooed.[195]

The Women's Tattoos

The data available on women's tattoos are, overall, less frequent than data on men's tattos. This is mainly due to the fact that the ethnographers were mainly men, who of course had little access to the female world—both by inclination and by cultural opportunity.[196] Few, like Erdland, would expressedly state that their knowledge of the women's tatttoes is limited. Others such as some German government individuals, would simply deny that women were tattooed, which nicey reflects the gender bias in their reports:

> *"Men in the entire group are tattooed on the back and breast, varying according to rank Tattooing is not practised in the case of women."*[197]

In fact, those Marshallese who maintained the tattooing after the intervention of outside forcestradition were women, rather than the men.

One exception in recording was that done by Elisabeth Krämer, who accompanied her husband Augustin to the Marshalls, and who could break through the gender barrier.

According to all descriptions, women's tattoos are substantially more uniform than men's. Women's tattoos are also laid out in a fixed system of ornament zones, and the tattoos are restricted to the shoulders, arms, legs, and fingers. In 1817, according to Chamisso:

"On women only the shoulders and arms are tattooed. The tattooed spot is very dark, sharply drawn and raised above the skin."198

Figure 43. Tattooed Marshallese woman photographed on Likiep Atoll (?) at the turn of the century. Note the motifs on the cloth mat. (Photo: Courtesy deBrum Photo Collection, Alele Museum Neg.No D-212).

Figure 44. Tattooed Marshallese women

SHOULDER TATTOO

According to Father Erdland, the Marshallese placed great importance on the female shoulder tattoo, "because as it is explained in sorcery rhymes and chants, the popularity of a woman is placed in her shoulders."[199]

The *shoulder tattoo* is very complex and consists of a number of motifs. The female shoulder tattoo is also the only tattoo where pigment is used in a more surface-covering manner. Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include almost exclusively the *bwilak* motif (16) of which several variations and combinations have been used (see figures 45-49).

We can distinguish two major types of women's shoulder tattoos: Type I consists of the *bwilak* motif both on the back and the chest, while type II has this motif only on the back.

Type I has on either shoulder four sets of the *bwilak* motif of the back, ending at the shoulder ridge in a single set of triangles. On the chest side, there are again four sets of *bwilak* motifs on either shoulder, again with the little triangles added at the shoulder ridge. These sets of motifs, however, have a different lower end, where a double set of lines is added creating a zigzag border, from which small triangles are suspended. Two variants are known, one where the zigzag lines are made up of double lines with a space in between (Type Ia, figure 45) and one where the zigzag line is a broad pigment band (Type Ib, figure 46).

Another variant of type I tattoos is Ic, where the back and the front are arranged symmetrically, and the back also has the small triangles suspended (figure 47).[200]

Type II a and IIb (not depicted) tattoos are similar to types Ia & Ib with the exception that the motifs are joined on the sternum and a central triangle is suspended.

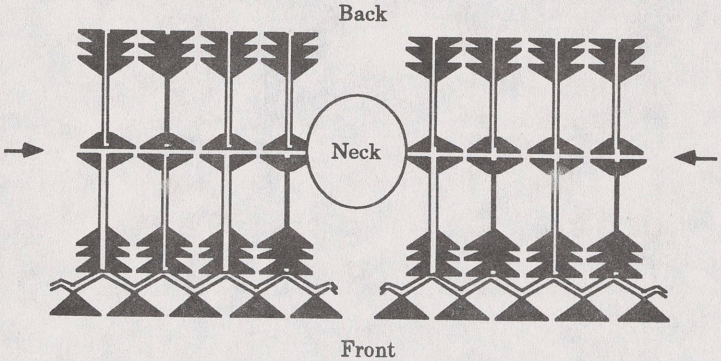


Figure 45. Female shoulder tattoo Type Ia (the arrows indicate the shoulder line)[201]

Type III also has on either shoulder four sets of the *bwilak* motif of the back. However, rather than ending at the shoulder ridge in a single set of triangles, these motifs continue over the ridge onto the chest, where the lines

part and merge with the lines of another motif into an ovate form. At the neck the left-over solitary line of the *bwilik* motif is elongated and curves around towards the Adam's apple (figure 49).

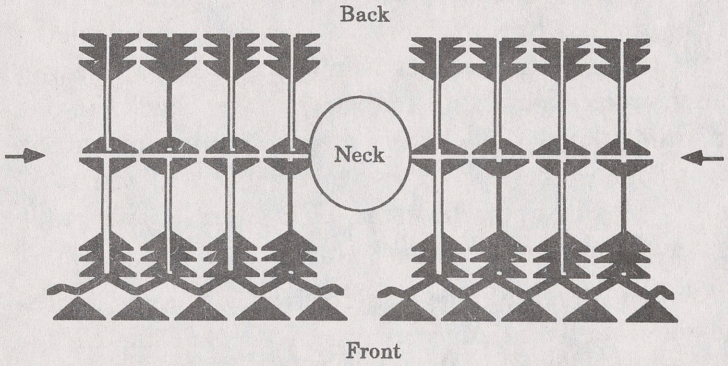


Figure 47. Female shoulder tattoo Type Ib (the arrows indicate the shoulder line)

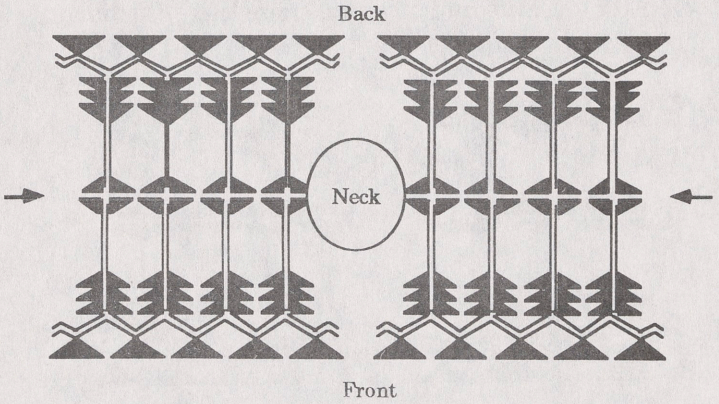


Figure 48. Female shoulder tattoo Type Ic (the arrows indicate the shoulder line)

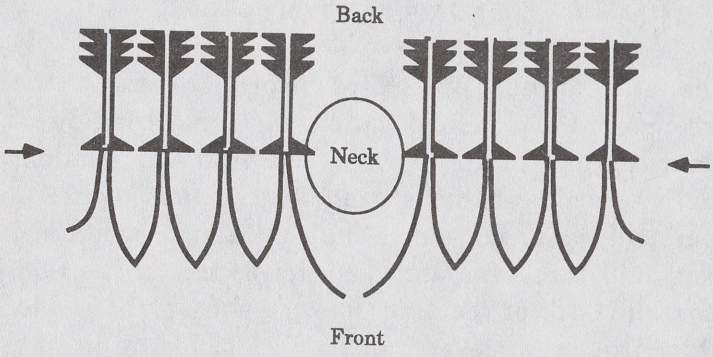


Figure 49. Female shoulder tattoo Type III (the arrows indicate the shoulder line).

The number of female tattoos recorded is limited,[202] but there is some variation known, although considerably less than for the men. For example, all three known type II tattoos stem from Arno Atoll. Table 5. lists the geographical distribution of the known tattoo types.

Table 5. Geographical variation of female shoulder tattoos.[203]

Atoll	Shoulder tattoo					
	Ia	Ib	Ic	IIa	IIb	III
Arno			✓	✓	✓	
Jaluit	✓					
Likiep (?)	✓					
Majuro	✓					
"Ratak"		✓				
Wotje	✓					
Jaluit (?)						✓

ARM TATTOO

The arm tattoo consists of two main parts, the decoration of the deltoid muscle and the decoration of the remaining arm to the wrist. The wrist area itself has another small ornament band. The *deltoid muscle* is commonly tattooed with a multiple zigzag band. The band runs across the arn, then downwards at the side, acros the back of the arm and up again on the inside. There can be three or four parallel bands of zigzags. Hasebe, relying on information by the tattooed person herself, identifies the deltoid muscle ornamentation as eo idikdik, or small tattoo.[204] The area between the wrist and the deltoid muscle is tattooed with verticaly aligned *looj* motifs (13). The E-shaped motifs commonly open towards the front of the person. On occasion the *looj* motif may be present, but the sigsag laines may be absent.

The *wrist area* was tattooed with ornament bands running at right angles to the arm, providing the appearance of cuffs or armbands.[205] Tattooing motifs seen in this zone are predominantly zigzag bands (*kein kōm* motif 1) and wavy-line bands (*kōdo*motif 4).

Often the complex arm tattoo was replaced by some simpler armband-like tattoos.[206]

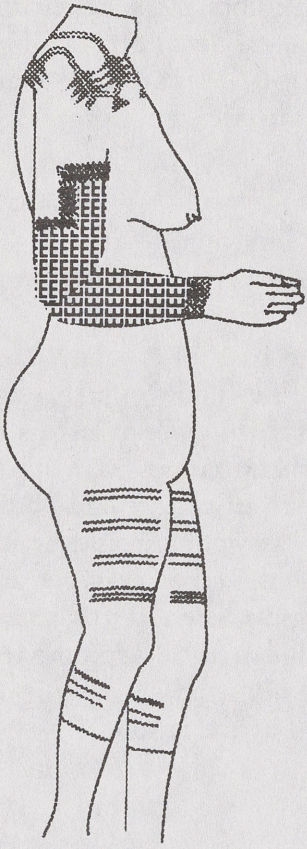


Figure 50. Side view of a woman's tattoo (Composit picture)

LEG TATTOO

On the whole, documented women's leg tattoos were fairly rare. If recorded they consisted of a tattoo of the thighs and a separate and unconnected tattoo of the calf. The tattoos of the thighs were apparently confined to thin bands or single lines and were restricted to the front of the leg.[207] The calf was decorated with horizontal lines only (figure 50).[208] Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament field include the zigzag tattoo (*kein kōm* motif 1).

TATTOO ON THE BACK OF THE HAND

The tattoo on the back of a hand (*eo in peden-pa*)[209] consists of wavy-line (kōdo motif 4) and zigzag lines, the *kein kōm* motif (1) running across the back of the hand.[210] Female hand tattoos were apparently not only restricted to women of chiefly rank, but were also very personalised, so that women could be identified by the tattoo of their hand.[211] For example, Erdland retells a folk tale of an ogress, the aunt of Jemalivut, who had died during childbirth and had come to annoy people. She had detached her hand and sent it to steal bananas, but was recognised by the tattoo.

FINGER TATTOO

The finger tattoo (*eoon-addin*)[212] is also restricted to women of chiefly rank and consists of small ring-like bands around the entire finger (figure 51c,d), or, more commonly, only on the backside of the middle digit (figure 51a,b). Tattooing motifs seen in this ornament

field include zigzag bands (*eodikdik* motif No 1).[213] The most commonly tattooed finger is the middle finger, and only occasionally the ring finger or the little finger are tattooed.

The ring-like motifs mentioned for the first digits, appear to be a European-influenced design motif, imitating European finger rings. Traditionally, the Marshallese had no rings on their fingers.[214]

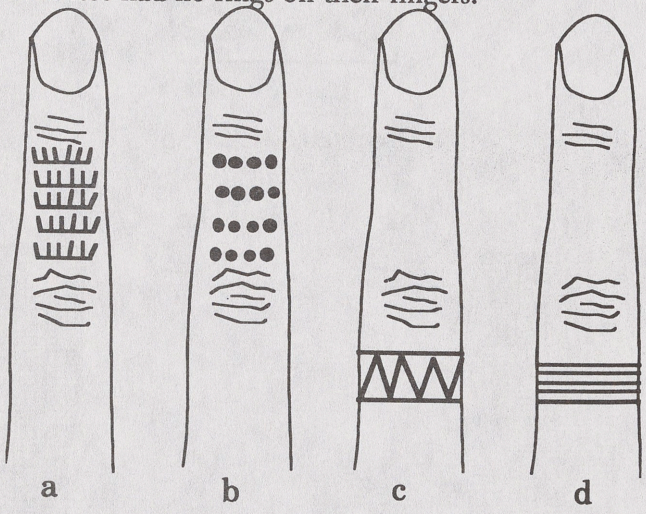


Figure 51. Finger tattoos

OTHER TATTOOS

In addition, women could have a "secret" tattoo (*bōd en Lōbōllōñ*)[215] which is "commonly invisible to the eyes".[216] It appears that this tattoo covered the *mons veneris*, in a fashion similar to the tattoos in other parts of Micronesia.[217]

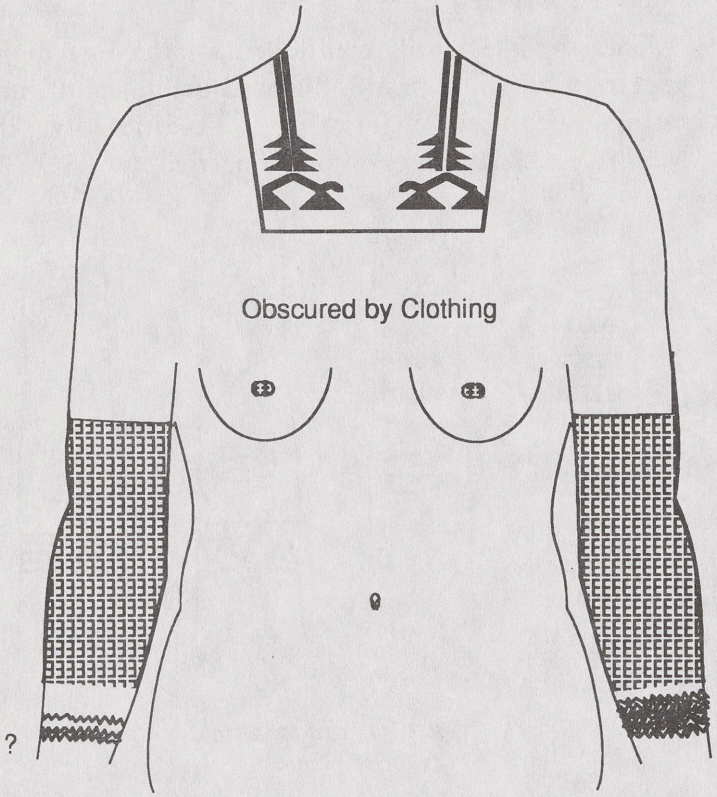


Figure 52. Chest tattoo of Lijamer, a woman of chiefly rank on Majuro Atoll taken in 1945 (drawn from published picture of a partially visible tattoo).

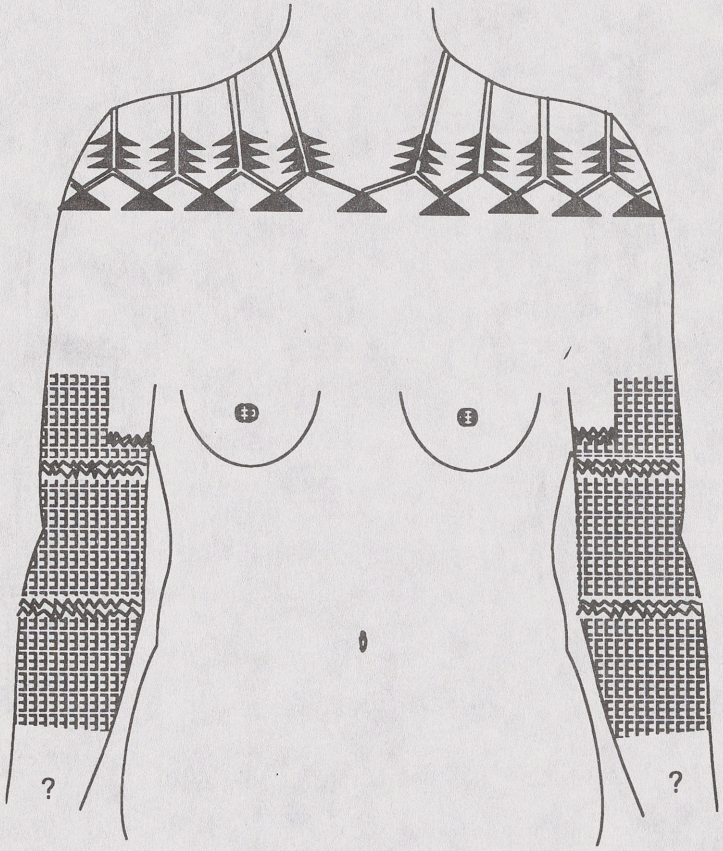


Figure 53. Chest tattoo of Lijibrik, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll .

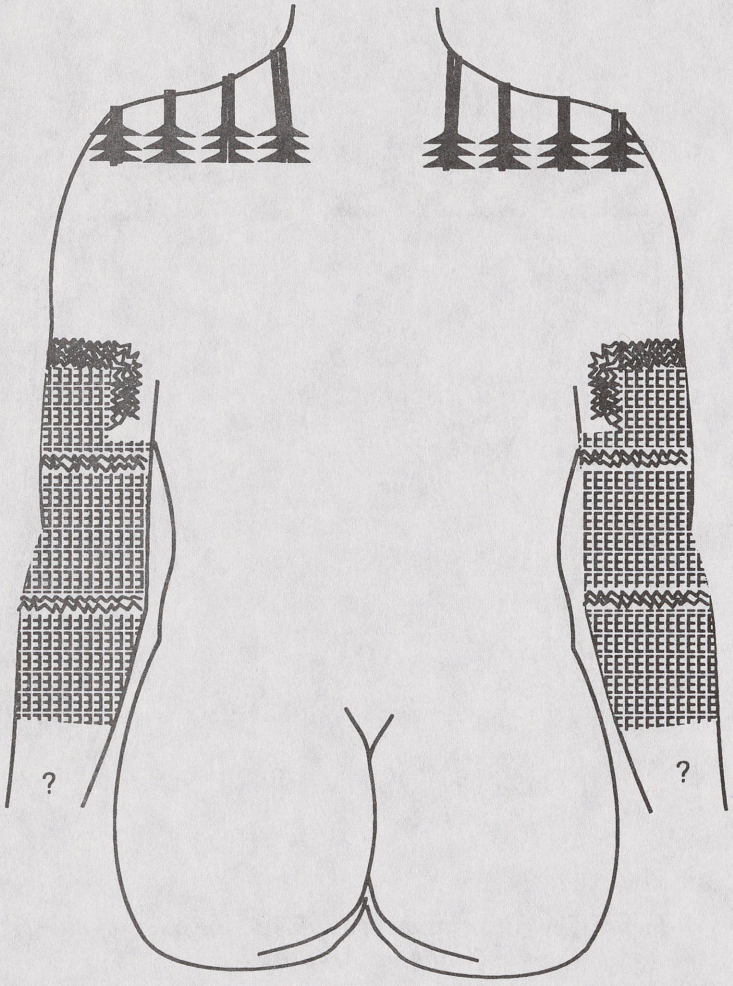


Figure 54. Back tattoo of Lijibrik, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll .

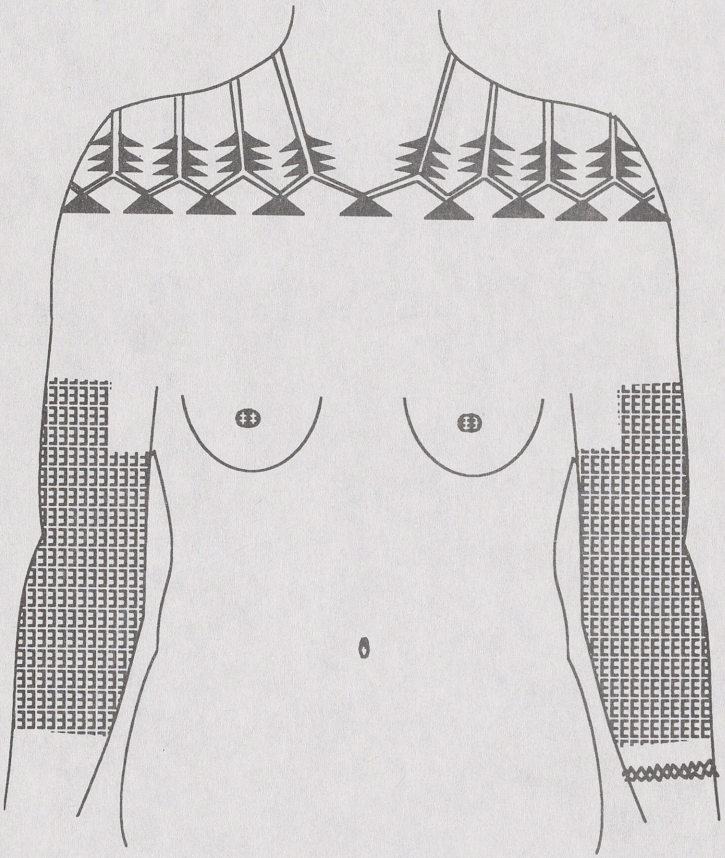


Figure 55. Chest tattoo of Nen, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll .

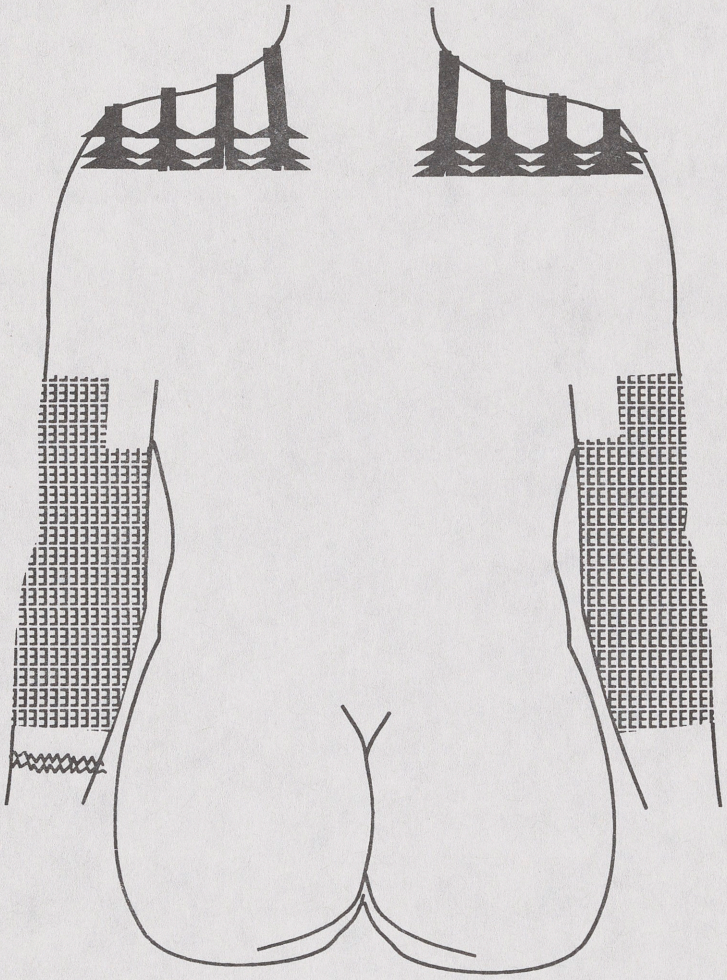


Figure 56. Back tattoo of Nen, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll .

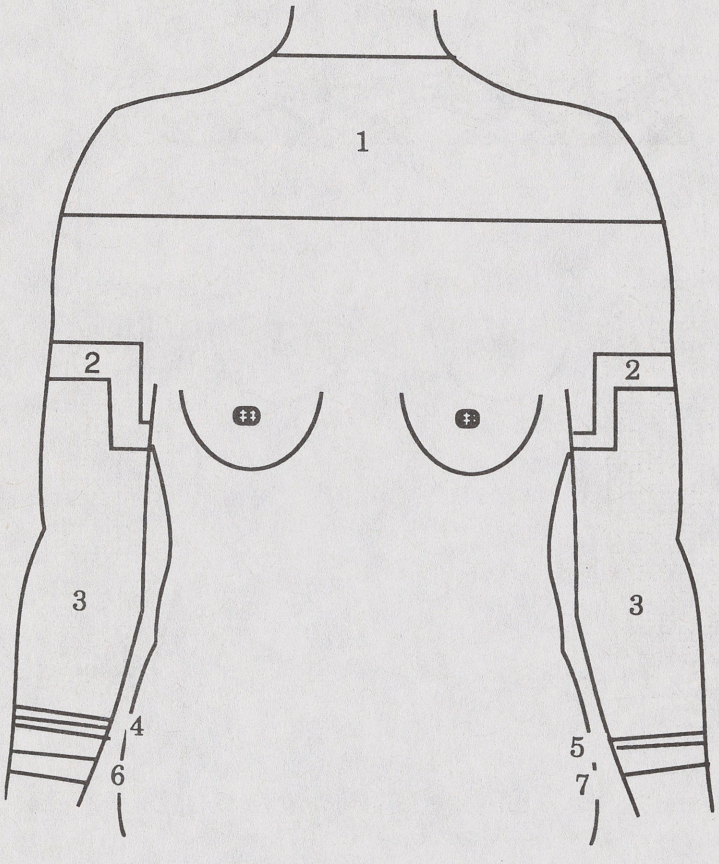


Figure 57. Chest tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll (Schematic lay-out).

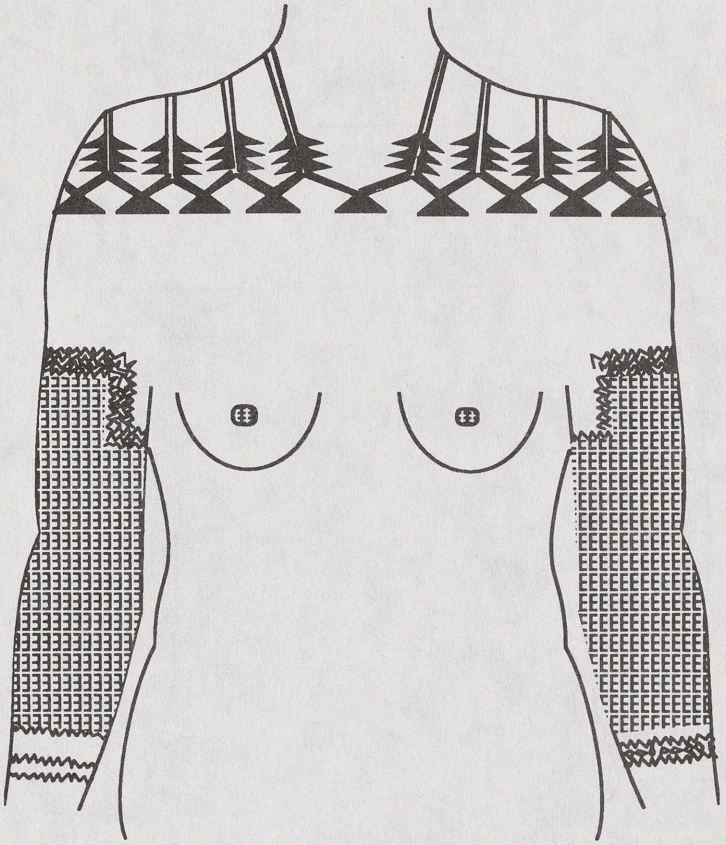


Figure 58. Chest tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll .

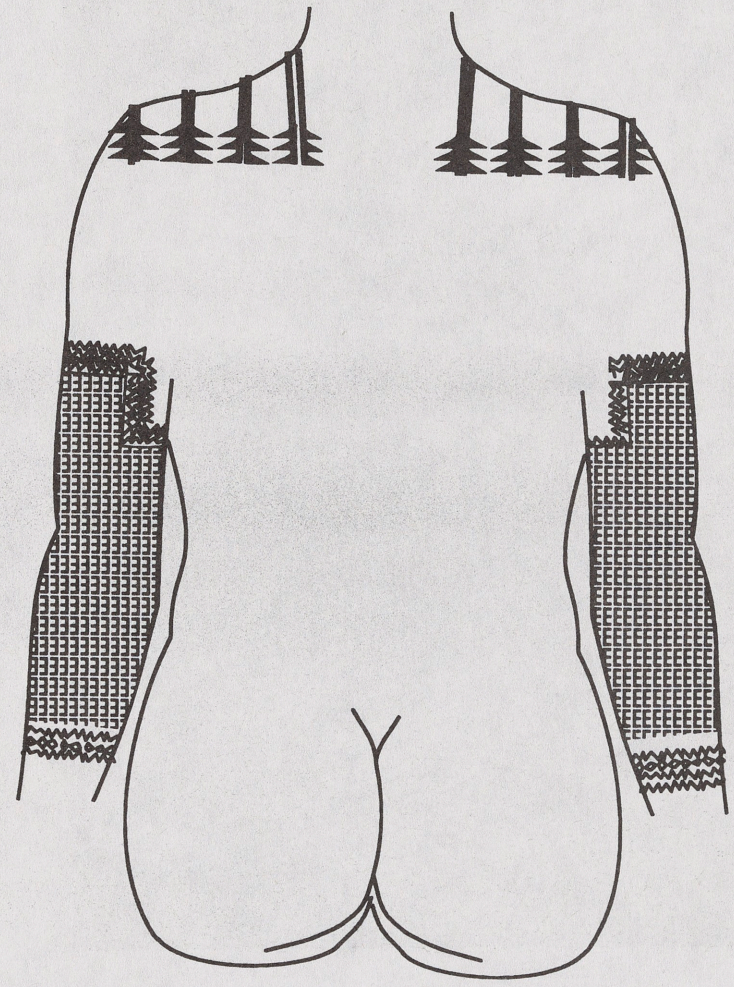


Figure 59. Back tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll .

Figure 60. Upper arm tattoo of Lijibrik, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll . Note the the upper border of the ke *motifs is lacking. (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).*

Figure 61. Side view of the shoulder tattoo of Lijibrik, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 62. Shoulder tattoo of Lijibrik, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll, as seen from the back. (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 63. Shoulder tattoo of Nen, a woman of chiefly rank on Tinak, Arno Atoll, as seen from the back (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 64. Chest tattoo of Nen, a woman of chiefly rank on Tinak, Arno Atoll (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 65. Arm tattoo of Nen, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 66. Shoulder tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950, as seen from the back (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

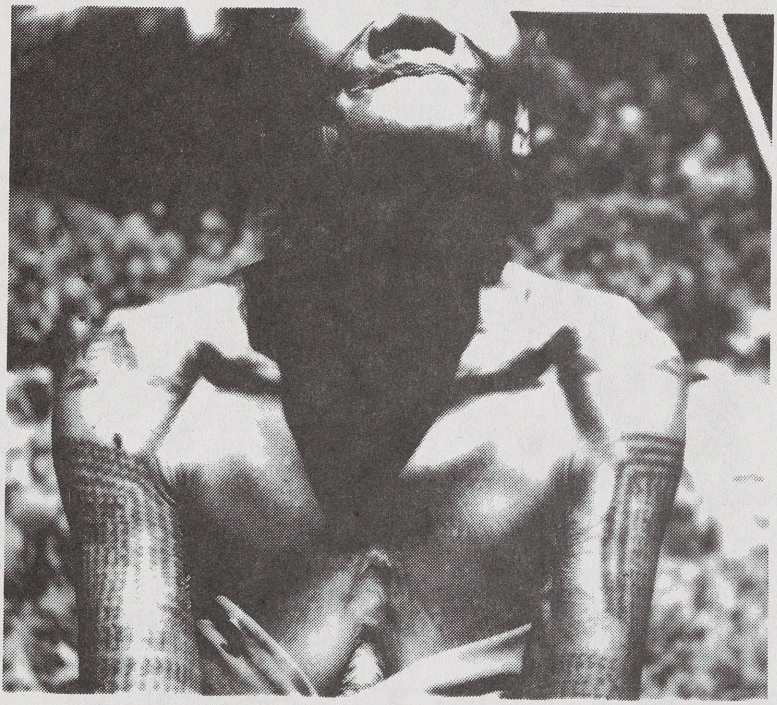


Figure 67. Right shoulder tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950, as seen from the back (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 68. Left shoulder tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950, as seen from the back (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 69. Left shoulder tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950, as seen from the front (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

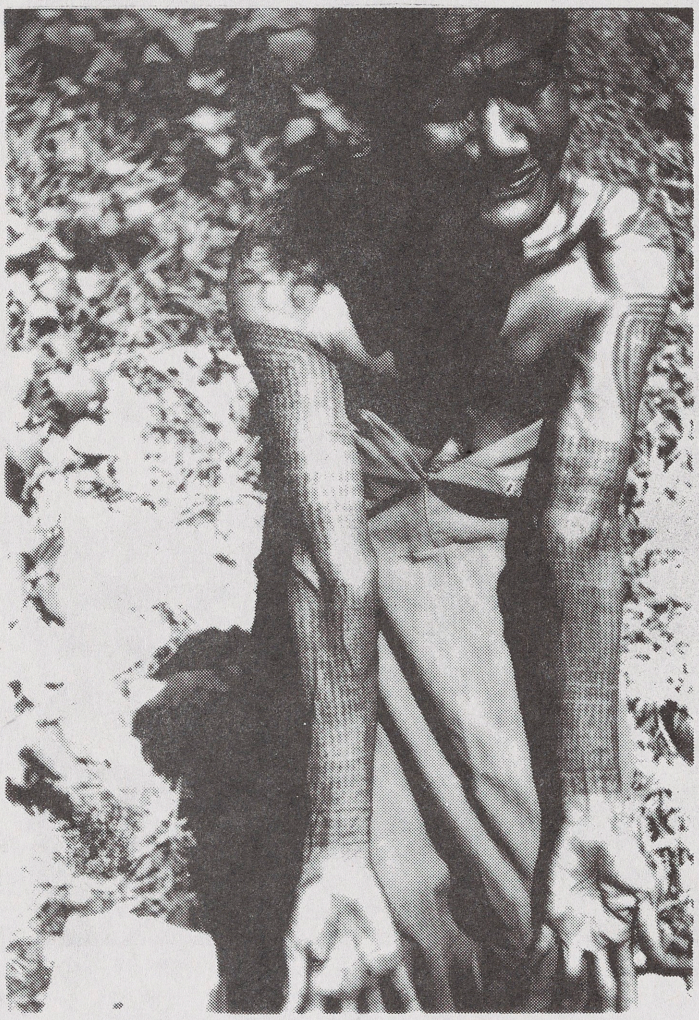


Figure 70. Chest tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950 (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 71. Arm tattoo (inner arms) of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950 (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 72. Arm tattoo (outer arms) of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950 (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 73. Hand tattoos of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950 (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

Figure 74. Chest tattoo of Lijolok, a woman of chiefly rank on Arno Atoll taken in 1950 (Photo taken in 1950 courtesy of Leonard Mason).

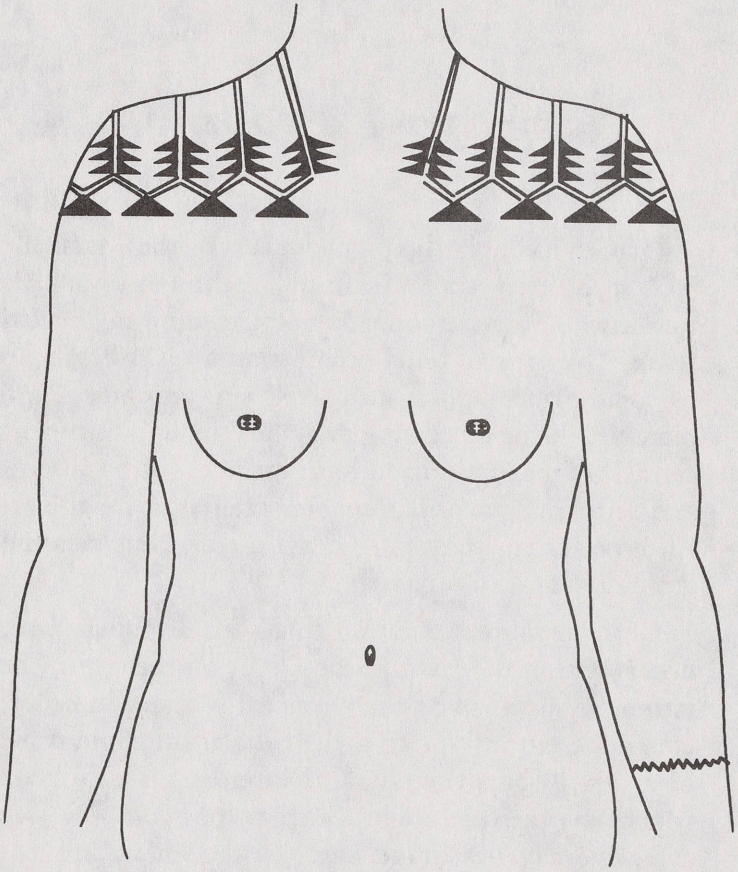


Figure 75. Chest tattoo of a woman of chiefly rank on Likiep at the turn of the century.

Scar Tattooing

In addition to the pigment tattoos the Marshallese also used scar tattooing, although much less frequently. Scar tattooing is not tattooing in the strict sense. This type of body ornamentation is differentiated by some ethnographers into "real" scar tattooing, *i.e.* the piercing, slicing or cutting away of skin, and burnmarks, caused by the application of a hot item, or by insertion and setting alight of flammable material under the skin. All types of this tattooing cause a scar, thus creating a three-dimensional ornament.

German sources mention that scar tattooing (***kinejo***) occurs within the chest tattoos[218] or on the arms. These tattoos seem to have been restricted to men. In order to create the tattoos young men had a small charred piece of a midrib of a coconut leaf inserted under the skin, which was then set alight. Such tattoos could be rather extensive covering large parts of the chest, but commonly were smaller.[219]

A photograph of a chest tattoo of a man from Mile, reproduced in Krämer shows some raised skin areas, which either were scar tattooing or scars left by infections of the tattoo (figure 76).

It would appear that scar tattooing, to commemorate the death of a relative, was common in the Gilbert islands (Kiribati).[220] Given the frequent contacts between

the southern atolls of the Marshall Islands and Kiribati a limited introduction of scar tattooing is possible.[221]

Having discussed the individual tattoo motifs, as well as the general tattoo designs, let us now have a look at the implements and utensils associated with making tattoos, before going to discuss the tattooing ceremonies and the social context of tattooing.

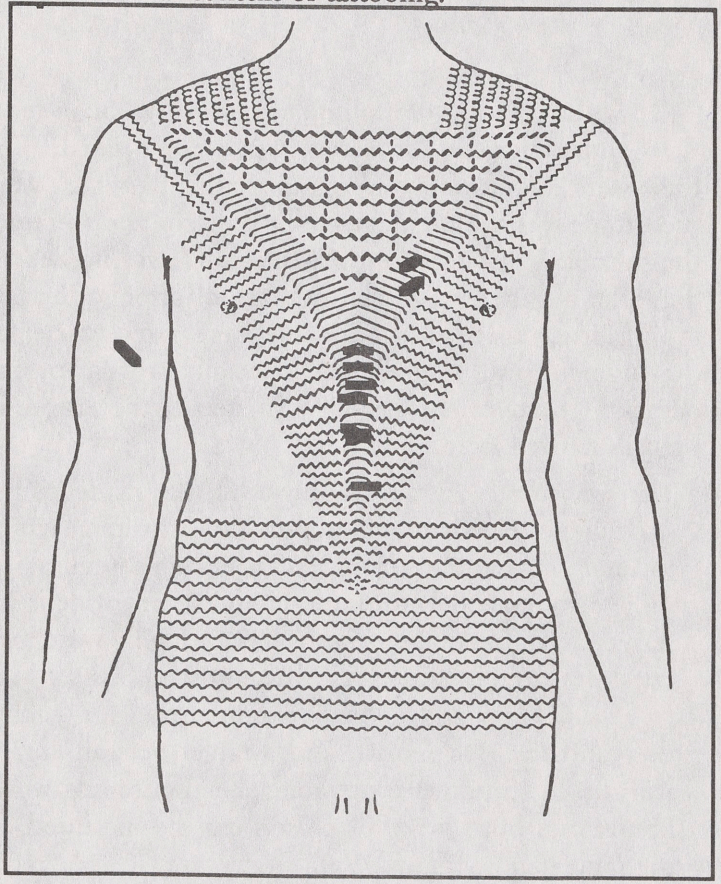


Figure 76. Chest tattoo of a commoner from Mile Atoll, showing the location of scars (after a photograph in Krämer 1904).

Tattooing Utensils

For the creation of a pigment tattoo two main tools and a number of accessories were needed. The tools were the tattooing adze and the mallet which were used to deliver the pigment under the skin and to create the tattoo. A tail–feather from a seabird was needed to draw the outline of the intricate tattoo, prior to the tattooing process. In addition, there were a receptacle for the pigment and a small mat, specially woven for the occasion to cover the head.[222] In detail, the tattooing utensils needed were:

- The *ngi*, "tooth",[223] a tattooing adze, was made from a stick or piece of bamboo, about 25-30cm long, which formed the handle (*juro)*.[224] In its upper end a flat piece of bone about 40mm long and 7 mm wide is inserted at right angles (figure 77c). There were two sizes of tattooing chisels are distinguished: a small one (*ngi wajid*)[225] with 3 to 5 fine points (teeth) for making dots and the fine motifs, and a larger version (*ngi ?*) with up to 12 points[226] for the general tattooing work. Sometimes both types of chisels can be mounted on the same handle (figure 77a).
- The mallet (*jub*),[227] for pounding in the teeth of the adze was commonly made from a straight, 20-30cm long piece of hardwood or the central rib of a coconut frond with a slightly flattened end (figure 77b).[228]

- The pigment container consisted of half a coconut shell.[229] Two types of containers are distinguished, large ones (*ar in eo*)[230] to dip in the tattooing chisel and small ones (*ar in jeje*)[231] for the drawing brush (figure 77d).
- The black pigment (*mamoj*),[232] used for both outlining the tattoo design on the skin, as well as for the application of the tattoo itself, is obtained from pounded charred coconut fibres which are then mixed with water.[233] According to another source the pigment consists of pounded charred coconut fibres, the sap of the aerial roots of *Pandanus* and of a composita plant.[234] A third source mentions that the pigment was gained from the carbon of burned coconut leaf sheaths mixed with water.[235] After contact with the Europeans, Marshallese preferred using the pure black carbon soot from the lantern chimneys (also called *mamoj*) to mix the pigment.[236] The deep black colour of the pigment was called *mej*.[237]It is said that colour of the parrot fish (*Scarus* spp.) resembles the colour of freshly applied tattooing pigment.[238]
- The drawing brush (*jeje*)[239] consisted of the long tail feather of a frigate bird[240] or of a central rib of a coconut leaf, often mounted on a handle made of a small stick or the thicker end of a feather.[241] Another source mentions that the *jeje* consisted of the shaft of a primary wingfeather of one of the tropic birds, which has been hafted in the quill of a primary wing feather of a Frigate bird.[242]
- A small basket (*iep*) to keep the implements.[243]
- A woven ornamented mat (*bunnemij*) to cover the face during the tattooing ceremony.[244] This mat, especially woven for the occasion, was in the style of the clothing mats, but substantially smaller in size (figure 77e).[245]

- A brush made of coconut or other fibres (*kajala*)[246] to fan the tattooed skin during the healing process.
- Several (fine) mats (*jjibur en kōrā*) to cover the freshly completed tattoo (sections) to prevent infection.[247]

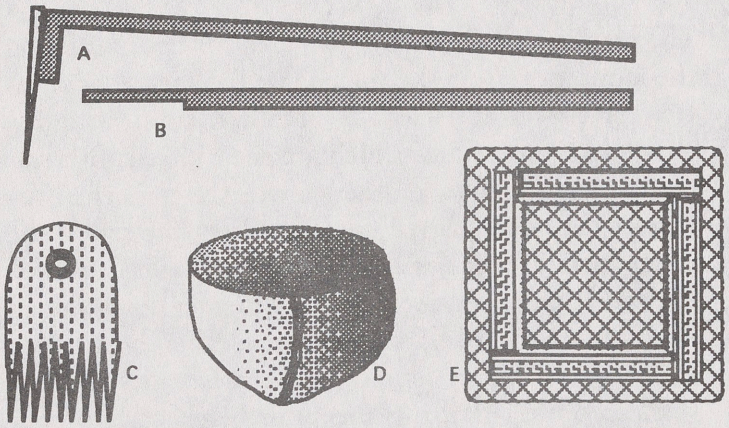


Figure 77 Schematic representation of tattooing utensils. A—The tattooing chisel, ngi; B—The mallet, jub; C—Detail of a chisel; D—The pigment conainer air in eo; E-A small tattoo mat, bunninemij.

RAW MATERIALS USED

The tattooing chisel was made of bone, commonly a wing bone of an albatross or frigate bird,[248]—in the late 1870s—the femur of a domestic chicken.[249] Sometimes bundled fish spines were also utilised. The larger the diameter of the bone, the straighter the chisel could be. Oral traditions show that the Marshallese went to the northern atolls, where nesting seabirds were abundant, to collect birds. Eneen-Kio (Wake Island), the northernmost atoll of the Marshall Islands, was an especially favourite place to go.[250] Here the short–tailed or Laysan albatross (*Diomeda immutabilis,* Family DIOMEDIDAE) bred[251] and could easily be caught, while it was largely

an airbound visitor to the other atoll of the Marshall Islands and hence hard if not impossible to catch.

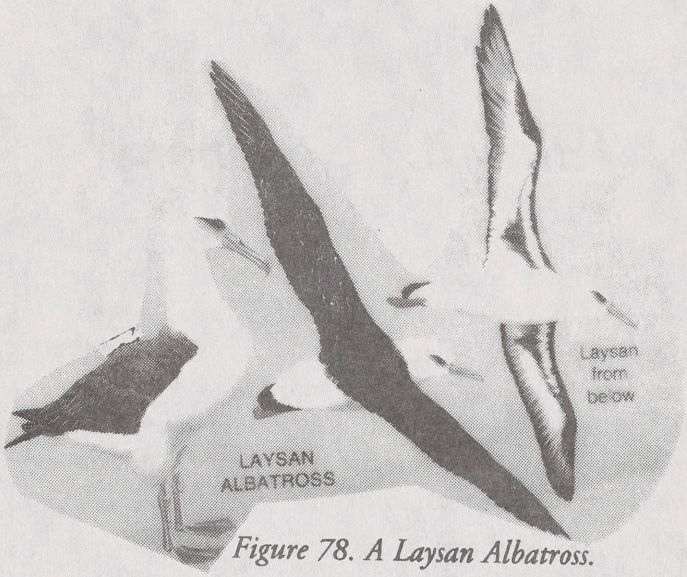


Figure 78. A Laysan Albatross.

In the Marshall Islands the use of human bones for tool manufacture is known ethnographically, though not for tattooing needles.[252] Tattooing chisels made from human bones, as part of ancestor worship and to foster clan cohesiveness are known from a large number of Pacific Island communities,[253] where ethnographic descriptions could be made before the Pacific culture had changed under the influence of Europeans.

MANUFACTURE OF TOOLS

In order to manufacture the fine teeth of the chisel, a special file was used, made from a spine of a sea urchin (*Acrocladia trigonaria*), which had been ground flat into the form of a screw-driver head.[254]

The Tattooing Ceremony

The tattooing ceremony was an integral part of the process. Unfortunately the sources available were all compiled at a time, when the tradition was already in steep decline. Further, none of the ethnographers actively or passively took part in the tattooing ceremony. The following is thus based on the fragmented information provided by the German sources.

Let us first look at the tatooing places in the Marshall Islands, and then at the ceremony as such.

TATTOOING PLACES IN THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

The traditional tattooing places in the Marshall Islands were restricted. The main tattooing place for the (western) Ralik Chain was Ailinglaplap Atoll, and here the island of Āne-piñ,[255] which was the traditional chief dwelling and burial place of the *irooj laplap*, the high chief of the Ralik Chain.[256] The area is located at the western tip of Bouj Island, directly next to the South Pass. The area harbors the *irooj* cemetery, where Kabua "the Great" is buried, as well as a earthen mound, called "*likijrik*",[257] said to be the house location of Lewōj and Lanij, the two heroes who brought tattooing to the people of the Marshall Islands.[258]

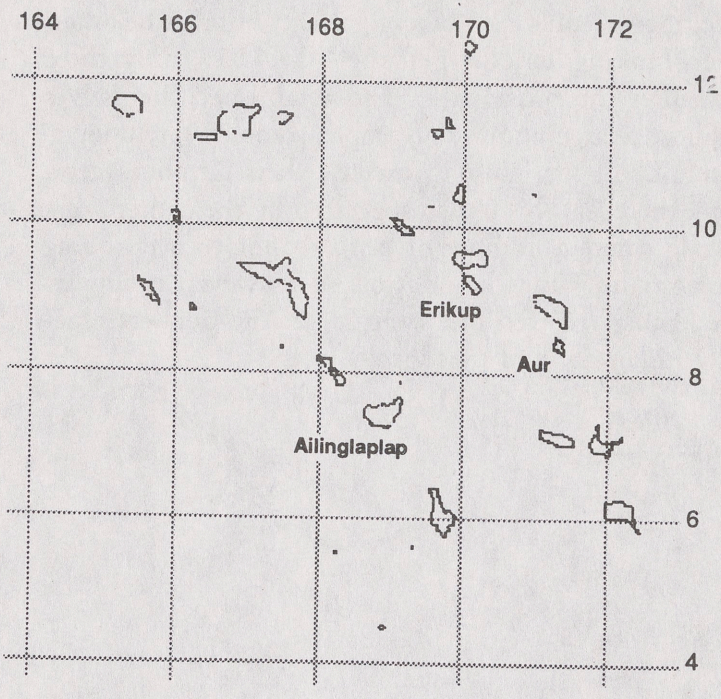


Figure 79. Map of the Marshall Islands showing the distribution of tattooing centres.

Its soil was considered sacred, because the tattooing sacrifices [for the entire Ralik Chain?] took place on this island. The location on Āne-piñ where the ceremonies took place was called *katok*[259] a term also used for the sacrifices given to the gods.[260] During the major tattooing season the inhabitants of numerous islands and atolls of the Ralik Chain would converge on Āne-piñ.

In the (eastern) Ratak Chain the atoll of Aur was also a chiefly place and used for tattooing ceremonies.[261] In addition, the Russian navigator Otto von Kotzebue mentions that the atoll of Erikup, just west on Wotje Atoll, was another tattooing traditional place.[262]

On all these traditional places of power several sacred stones were located.

Tattooing could also take place at a number of other, lower–ranking chiefly places.[263] In 1859, only three years after the missionaries had established themselves on Ebon, a large number of people, some 800, temporarily left Ebon for Jaluit to execute their tattooing ceremony there.[264] This is also suggested by the content of a folktale where a number of people came to a tattooing ceremony on Jaluit, Jaluit Atoll.[265] However, it appears that having received one's tattoo at Āne-piñ was especially important and prestigeous.

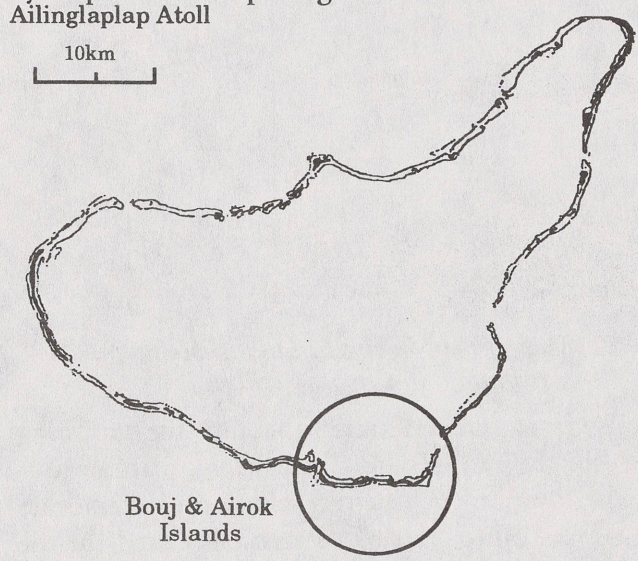


Figure 80. Map of Ailinglaplap Atoll showing the location of Bouj (Āne-piñ) and Airok, Ailinglaplap

TATTOOING HOUSES

We know very little about the traditional tattooing houses, as none of the sources describe them in any great detail. Traditional houses in the Marshall Islands were rather low, consisting of a large roof construction which

served as house-cum-sleeping quarters. This raised ground/rooflevel created an airspace underneath, where airflow could bring cooling and relief from the daily heat (figures 82 and 83).[266]

One source who visited Ãne-piñ at the turn of the century,[267] mentions that after the divination and presentation of sacrifices to the gods of tattooing, a large tattooing house would be built. This is fairly likely, as the common dwelling places would not only be inappropriate from a spiritual point of view, but also unsuited from a pure technical point of view: their eaves were too low and no one could perform complex tattooing underneath them without difficulty.

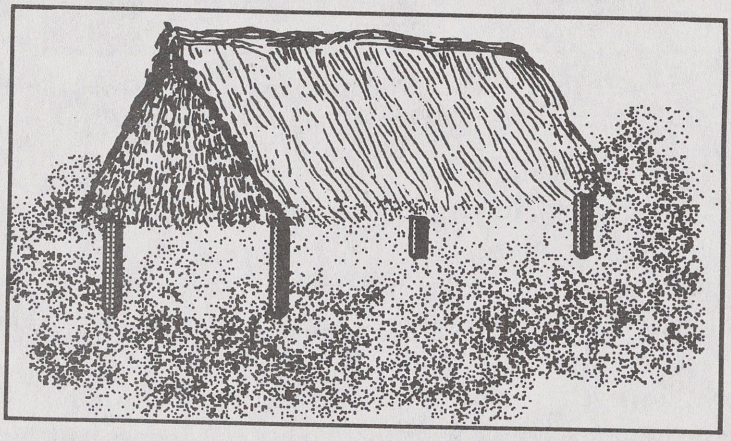


Figure 81. Traditional Marshallese house seen on Maloelap in 1910.

Other observers mention that the tattooing took place in a large building which served during the rest of the year as a meeting house (*emlaplap*)[268]. It seems that every atoll in the Marshall Islands possessed at least one of these buildings, not necessarily for tattooing, access to which was prohibited for women. Also, the lagoonal beach in front of these buildings was *emo* (taboo) for the commoners, and not even driftwood was tolerated

there.[269] The path leading from the lagoonal beach to the tattooing house was called *jiadel*[270], a term, which also applied to the grounds surrounding the path from the hightide mark to the tattooing house.[271]

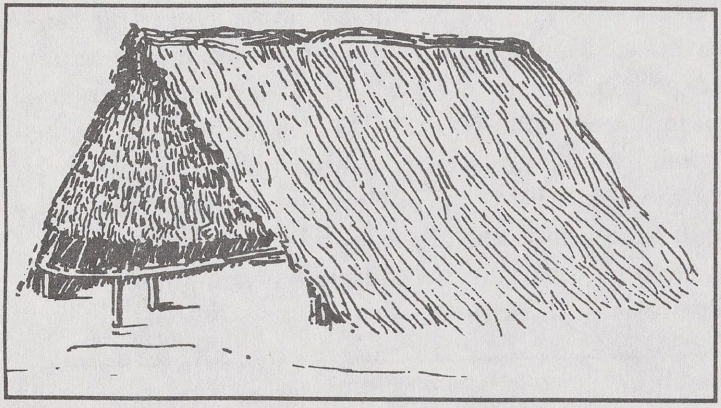


Figure 82. Traditional Marshallese houses of deviating construction seen on Majuro in 1910.

TATTOOING SEASON

Tattooing could, in theory take place all year round, although practical reasons prevented this from happening on a larger scale. A tattooed person, for example, was likely to develop some fever, and be rather sore for a few weeks, thus reducing his/her ability to conduct hard work such as gardening. Thus seasons of plenty, when food was in abundance, and when other ceremonies would also be held, were a more appropriate time.

Thus it is not surprising to learn that the major tattooing season coincided with the breadfruit season.[272]

During the season, first a high chief, an *irooj laplap*, or at least an *irooj* would be tattooed, then the commoners (*kajur*) of Ailinglaplap. Only when their tattoos were

finished, people from other atolls, apparently of whatever rank, were to be tattooed.

Another source from Lae Atoll[273] claims that tattooing was automatic for the *irooj* and other chiefly members of society, but that commoners had to earn it.

"In order for a commoner man to be tattoed, one man was selected to represent his *jowi* (clan). If he survived the *jib in jowi* (torture ceremony) all males of his entire clan could be tattoed. Even if a clan member was on another island during the time the selected man passes the test, at a later time this clan member could sail to Bouj and permission would be granted by the *irooj* for him to be tattooed, for his clan member had survived the *jib in jowi.*

The *jib in jowi* consisted of running with a husked coocnut along the beach for about a quarter to half a mile, between two lines of men with spears waiting to stab and club the man as he ran to a designated place where the nut was to be cracked open. If he survived the run, he would crack open the nut, return with it and grate it, to be used during his tattooing. At this point permission was given by the *irooj* to tattoo the man and his clan members."[274]

The permission to be tattoed was also used as a politocal tool by some powerful *irooj.* In the pre- and early contact time civil strife was a common occurence in the Marshall Islands. Because each *irooj* had favoured clans which were his followers and others, which were his enemies, the latter could be denied the right to be tattoed even though one of its members had passed the *jib in jowi.* Thus, never were all the clans allowed to be tattoed by the same *irooj.*

TATTOOING CEREMONIES[275]

A week or eight days before the tattooing was to begin, preparations for the tattooing ceremony began.[276] Food sacrifices (*waloklik*)[277] were placed onto (given to) the sacred stones on Ãne-piñ, representing the gods who gave tattooing to the Marshallese, Lewõj and Lanij.[278] The location where sacrifices took place was called *loka-tok*.[279]

These sacrifices commonly consisted of food and fine mats. One source, relying on oral traditions, mentions that tattooing chisels for high ranking chiefs were made of the bones of sacrificed young men.[280] This sacrifice could be offset if the young man procured the wing bones of albatrosses from the norther most atoll of the Marshall Islands, Eneen-Kio (Wake Island).

No other source available mentions the Marshallese sacrifice of human beings to procure tattooing chisels. However, it needs to be kept in mind that most recording of oral traditions and ethnography occurred at a time when Christianity had gained a strong foothold and control of at least the larger atolls in the south. Thus it was not desireable to transmit information on the heathen past likely to blemish the Marshallese reputation. That such sacrifices are not out of the order of likelihood is evidenced by the fact that the Marshallese chiefs were not above using human bodies as rollers in order to put canoes into water in a hurry[281] or that foreigners drifting ashore in the Marshall Islands were either enslaved or killed.

When the tattooing ceremony was to commence, the person to be tattooed sat down on a mat inside the tattooing house or in another house pointed out by the chief for this purpose.

A hymn or prayer was offered, the text of which follows. According to Krämer, who recorded the text, the informants mention that the text and words are archaic, and the meaning of some unknown. In this, as in other cases of Marshallese texts, the Marshallese text as recorded by Krämer and an English translation of his German is given.[282]

Before the tattooing ceremony stated a hymn was offered. The following is a text for the tattooing of Kabua, chief of the Ralik Chain, who hailed from Namu Atoll.[283] The transcription is that of Krämer at the tuen of the century, using German phonetics:

J ean in imain inen djidnen
imain ee
J rak in imain inen djidnen
imain ee
Jueo wudjiae
Juen räman imalablab
Täddi buere irrim
Läddi bulogo dagga meiein
Gadgie bonnin
Bonnidagai, bonidä maedju
Euwäläa anir?
Namo, Madjigin!
Deiedje däbbbin
Däbbo, däbbo, däbbo
Däbbo erere Kabua
Ngaion ailingean!

In the north of this house our pleading shall be heard
for this house
In the south of this house our pleading shall be heard
for this house
For the thriving of the coconuts.
Bring the tattoed into the great house[284]
Long may he live, he there on his mat
Some live, some even die
But your name shall be praised
He shall grow
Where is your land?
Namo, Madjigin!
His standing increases
Standing, standing, standing[285]
The reputation of Kabua shall extend
over his islands!

Tattooing was also closely tied in with religious beliefs, and could not be undertaken if the omens were adverse. According to Chamisso,

> *"those who wish to be tattooed spend the night in a house to which the chief who is to perform the operation conjures down the god. A perceptible sound, whistling, is said to announce his agreement. If this sign is lacking the operation is also left undone. For which reason it is never performed on some people. In case of transgression the sea would come over the island and all land would disappear."*[286]

The artist Choris who accompanied Chamisso on the Kotzebue Expedition,[287] mentions that this consultation of the gods could take several days until a more positive sign was received.

Before the tattooing ceremony could begin, a major chant was sung, apparently by all participants of the ceremony. Then a chief would perform a dance in front of and around the tattooing hut, as well as nearby coconut palms, accompanied by all the women, which were later to sit outside the tattooing hut. During that dance the women, who were carrying palmfronds, were not allowed to be looked upon by any of the men.[288]

When the person about to be tattooed was led into the tattooing house,[289] and the tattooing itself was about to begin, and the lines to be drawn, all males assembled in the tattooing house. The members of the *irooj* class would seat themselves at the lagoonal end of the tattooing house, those of the lower ranking chiefs (*bwidak*) at the oceanside, and the commoners (*kajur*) in the middle.[290]

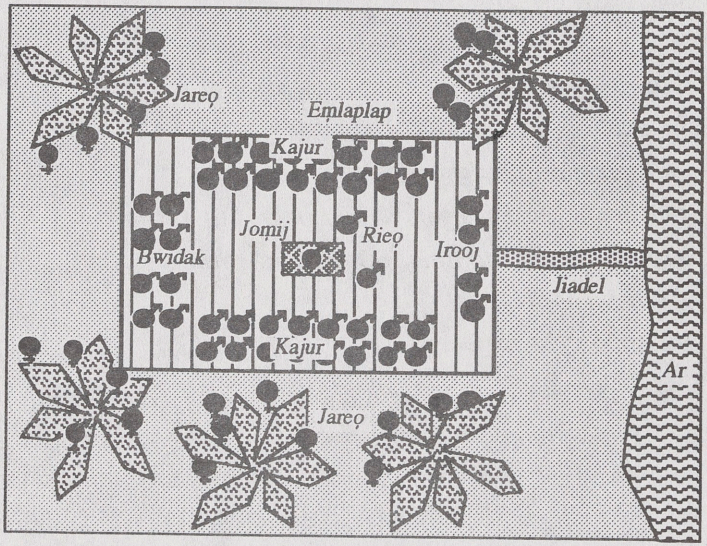


Figure 83. Reconstruction of the spatial lay-out of a tattooing ceremony

The women (*jareo*)[291] who were not allowed to witness the drawing of lines nor the tattooing as such, would

assemble and seat themselves in front of the tattooing house, underneath the coconut palms,[292] and begin beating their drums without singing. Only then when the tattooist began drawing the motifs onto the skin the women stopped their drumming and sang a chorus, with as little noise and no loud voices, as possible, so as not to distract the master craftsman at his drawing. Quite often even complete silence was observed.

This is exemplified in the following song:[293]

Djarrao djab ba
Eub boen dajub lagga
agüg'ga
Binnao, djadje, djadje
Djedje äöäo, äöäo, äöäo!
Kamameman
äöäo nä rio.

The drummers do not beat their drums
So that the colour
will not stain the fingers.
The drums do not hear, do not hear
while drawing the lines, the lines, the lines!
Do them well
the lines, you tattooers!

When the motifs for the days worth of tattooing and been drawn, the application of the tattooing with chisel and mallet began. Outside the hut, this was accompanied by the women's loud singing, wild drumming and thigh slapping in order to drown out the pain, as well as any cries or moans uttered. The following song exemplifies this well:[294]

Ua lägälagod
Ua ägädagod
Ua je
Bä geria djou äa
ägäo, dägarreo
Agädagge mei
Dangagedak
ä djok
äöäo,äöäo,äöäo
Kamameman äöäo
nä rio.

The song rises up to the gods
and enthusiasm returns
for the artist.
Beat the drums, beat hem in a circle
The ägäo *and the black noddy*[295]
come flying up
with their wings spread wide,
their blackness falls
on the tattoo
Do the lines well
you tattooers!

To prevent the onlooking men from seeing the face of the person to be tattooed distorted by pain and agony, the face was covered with a small mat (*bunnenimij*) especially woven for the occasion.

The following song, recorded from informants from Mejit, then shows the tattooing in full swing:[296]

Djuo adjieo
Bennareo iman äöäo,

Redjued ngirilok, ngirilok
Ngiridjob, ngiribogadak
Lanulang äu dood, äu dood
Kon djedje Redjolubu
Kamu djälili
Edju bogurran älligin
Djaluidge le
Konalir mamodjin
Langin ädibung
Emedj oadiridir!

Put the drum to your left side[297]
Beat it for this tattooing house
He sighs, he sings out
He sighs loud, he moves
Lanulang beats, beats the mallet
You draw [the] Redjolubu [motif]
make zigzags
Vertical lines on this back
The people are watching
A miracle, the tattooing pigment
it falls from the sky
Ready are the dots!

A folk tale, dealing with the removal of an unwanted son during a tattooing process provides some other lines of the ritual. Even though highranking individuals were extremely powerful in normal times, during the tattooing ceremony and tattooing operation they were on the same level as their subordinates. In the tale, the mother holding the tattooing mat slaps her thighs and says:[298]

Rerelbo, je bo in lä; ko ron kuou jab momakitkit iomuin ni ne an Lewoj im Lanej!

Rerelbo [her son], we are relegated to mere subordinates, do you hear, so do not move under the needle of Lewoj and Lanij.[299]

The person tattooed was not allowed to step out to the public and show off the tattoos (*kāmaran*) until his wounds had completely healed off (*kur*) and the scab had fallen off.[300]

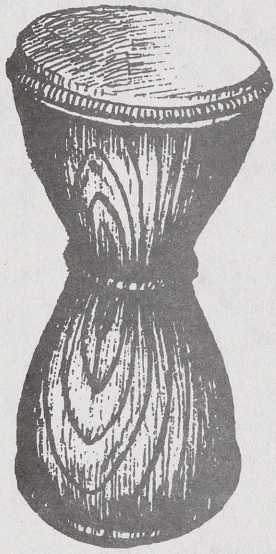


Figure 84. A wooden Aje Drum (Waist drum), commonly made from kone wood (Pisonia grandis), occasionally made from joñ wood (Bruigiera gymnorrhiza). The drums is open at both ends. The grooved upper part of a drum is covered with the inner lining of the stomach or the bladder of a shark (called djä). When being played, the drum is placed at the left side of the body, the waist of the drum fitting between the waist and the left arm. The drum is held with the left arm and the beaten with the right.

After the tattoo was completed, a major feast was held for the tattoo master craftsman (*rieo*), apparently using a special (new ?) coconut grater (*raanke*) and a special (new ?) wooden bowl (*jāpe*).[301]

The tattooist was then paid (*kabwijeran*)[302] for his services with food and mats. The costs of a tattoo was high:

"In former times [tattooing] was connected with a whole series of complicated rites, and the fee which the priest received for it was so high that a poor man had to work for years before he could afford to have the desired ornament"[303]

According to Hasebe, the remuneration of the artist goes up with the execution of a large tattoo.[304]

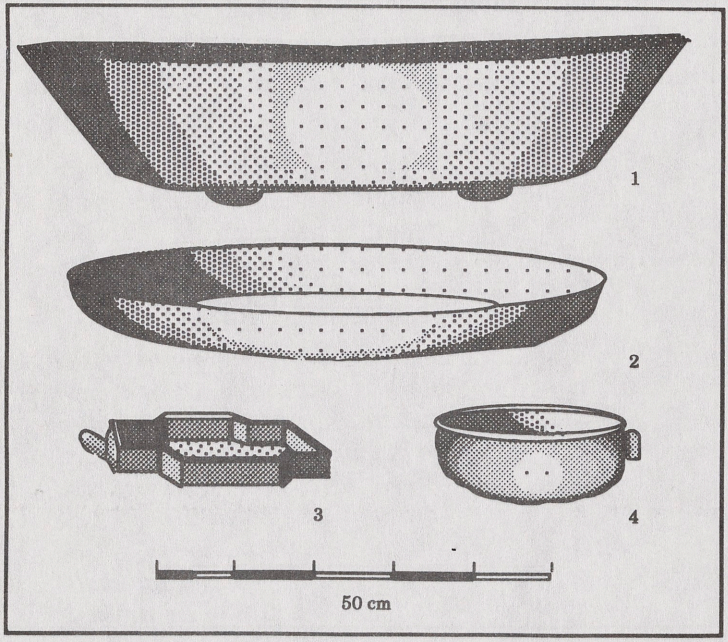


Figure 85. Wooden food preparation and serving vessels. 1–collected on Majuro; 2-4–collected on Lae.

PROHIBITIONS

For the duration of the ceremonies the normal terms for men *(mmaan; leo)*[305] and women (*kora, lio*)[306]were *emo* (tabooed),[307] and the women of men about to be tattooed were called *bokwi*,[308] while the men of women

about to be tattooed were called *jomij*. A completely tattooed male was also called *jomij*.[309]

Also for the duration of the tattooing ceremony those to be tattooed had to refrain from sexual intercourse with their partners or others.

TATTOOING OPERATION

The tattooing would begin with the person lying on his/her back, having the upper part of the chest tattooed first, and ending on the nipples, an area where tattooing is very painful. A folktale[310] indicates a different sequence, there first the shoulder and the back were tattooed while the person to be tattooed lay on a mat.

The tattooing would begin after the tattoo artist had drawn the days worth work of tattooing on the body, and the face of the person about to be tattooed had been covered with a small mat, especially woven for the occasion. The tattooist would then dip the tattooing adze into the pigment container (*kaduloñ*),[311] place it on the skin and strike it with the mallet (*kade*).[312]

A complete tattoo, both chest and back, would normally take up to a month among commoners, and even longer for chiefs as they had their legs and face tattoed as well.[313] Kotzebue's statement that the tattoo could be executed in one sitting is not correct.[314] However, if the tattoo was not accompanied by fever, and if the person to be tattooed could withstand the pain, a complete tattoo could be executed within a week. Two week's duration seem to have been not uncommon.[315] If fever complicated the affair, the application of a complete tattoo could be spread over two to three months.[316]

While these time lines refer to complete body tattoes, it needs to be pointed out that tattooes commonly went in stages. Children and younger adults had a few lines or bands tattooed on their arms or their legs. With the onset of man- or womanhood, the children becoming full members of the adult society, they could attain a complete tattoo. Even later, if the individuals were of chiefly birth and rose to chiefly powers, the chiefly "insignia", the chiefly markers, such as face tattoo for the men, or finger tattoo for the women, were added.

Kabua ("the Great"), for example, of chiefly lineage but low birth had a complete body tattoo early in his adulthood, and only attained the face tattoo after attaining the chiefly rank following his marriage a high ranking leeroj.[317] In 1879 Lamoro, son of the *irooj laplap* of Ebon, was completely tattooed save for the face.[318]

TATTOOING AND HEALING

Tattooing with traditional materials produces the risk of the tools becoming contaminated with some bacteria and subsequent infection of the tattooing wound. The fresh tattoo was rubbed with coconut oil and covered with leaves of the *nen* (*Morinda citrofolia*, RUBIACEAE) to reduce the risk of infection.[319] Small and large-scale infections following tattoos seem to have been not uncommon at all.[320] Kotzebue's informant Langedju of Wotje Atoll asserted that

> *"after tattooing the body swelled very much, and suffered a great deal of pain."*[321]

Those parts, which had become infected, were washed with a medicinal solution made from the coconut husk.[322] Occasionally these infections could be very

heavy, although they only very rarely led to the death of the infected person.[323]

It is therefore very likely that the professional tattoo craftsmen were at the same time professional healers.[324]

Figure 86. A nen tree (Morinda citrifolia)

Tattooing in Marshallese folklore

Given the importance of tattooing in the social system of the Marshall Islanders, it is not surprising that tattooing one way or the other appears in the folklore. In the following we will reproduce three stories in full.

The incomplete tattoo is the only documented Marshallese folktale which has tattooing as its focus. It is the story of the happenings to two incompletely tattooed young men.

A peculiar use of tattooing is made in the folktale *The jealous father*, which is about a chiefly son who grew into very large size.[325] In this tale the father, an *irooj* executes the tattoo himself and strikes very deeply, thereby killing his son. It is unclear whether the tale means just that, or whether it more generally indicates mortality in tattooing. This tale may also partially make use of the word play between *ngi* as in its meaning of "tattooing chisel" and *ngi* in its meaning as "being so angry as to revenge" or simply "to revenge".[326]

The story of Lojeik is in fact oral history and tells how tattoos also marked people as individuals.

THE INCOMPLETE TATTOO[327]

All islanders went to Jaluit; they went to be tattooed as the time for the tattooing ceremony had come. Two young men from the eastern part of the atoll had not been completely tattooed: they had not been given the dots. They went over land to the eastern part of the atoll, both going on foot. Women saw both of them and said "The young men who are coming there carry a full string of parrot fishes!"[328] "What do the women say?" "They talk of parrot fishes!" "Take the fish at the bottom of the string and take the flower headband of the last woman!" The other women were angry about this and hit that women.[329]

As the young people went to Eneanij[330] the began to tattoo themselves. They called their mother's younger sister from Imuej.[331] The older brother said: "Bring our sleeping mat from our aunt!" And the younger brother went.

"What do you want?" "I am here to get my and my brothers sleeping mat!" "Take this roughly woven mat for your brother! Take the finely woven mat for yourself!"[332]

As he went, both laid down. The older brother got angry, jumped into the sea and swam. The younger brother said: "Brother, come;" Both swim, these people drift eastwards. What type of weather will there be if we swim away from land? What is there in the current? A large fish ...., which follows the swell!" Both drifted ashore at Majuro.

The daughter of an *irooj* came to the lagoonal shore and took both as husbands. Both slept and a woman came to eat them. The woman was called Lejeneneame-moujlin. The inhabitants of the island woke up, and the chief's daughter said: "Make food for these two!" The

people made and brought food. The old woman, however, said, "Lejeneneamemoujlin has eaten this small little parrot fish!" "What does the woman say?" "Uncover their mats!" O dear, both were dead.

It is quite possible that this folk tale refers to the tattooing ceremony conducted in 1859 on Jaluit, to where a large number of people came from Ebon.[333] It is likely that on that occasion all people from Jaluit Atoll, who were desireous to have a tattoo or complete their tattoo, would also attend.

THE JEALOUS FATHER

Once there was a woman who became pregnant. When she gave birth, she bore a son. This son was a giant. He was so tall and big that no one on the island could match his size. After three days, his father became afraid of his powerful son, and he decided to get rid of him. One day the old man decided he would kill him by tattooing him while he was still very young.

On the fourth day the father took the boy from his mother and they went to a place called Jabo. When they got to this place, the father built a small hut for his son. Then he laid his son down on the ground and started to slice him up. The father began to cut the boy from all directions. While the father was cutting his son into small pieces, the mother began to sing this chant to her son: "Drelbo Jabo, try not to move or wiggle under the coconut tree where your father put you."

Then the son answered: "How can I keep still, since they are cutting me into small pieces?"

After the father had finished slicing his son into small pieces, he picked up two of the largest slices and said "Eat this or eat that." He was imagining that he was cutting a tuna fish.

He sent a large piece to the mother so she could eat it. But instead of eating it, she put it in a basket and hung it on a Pandanus tree. When they hung it up, the flesh in the basket began to sing. It sang:

"Liji-we-a, Loma-o-a, Loko-rok-a.

They killed me and hung me at the ocean side of Jabo, Lijini."

The mother, Lijini, heard the voice and asked everybody in the house to keep listening. Then the flesh sang again:

"Liji-wi-a, Loma-o-a, Loko-rok-a.

They killed me and hung me at the ocean side of Jabo, Lijini."

The mother and the people in the house went and found where the voice came from. When they lowered the basket, the flesh was still moving while singing its song. Then the mother picked up the flesh and asked her grandmother to accompany her. They went to the ocean side, where the body was still hanging. They took the body and put it in a pool on the reef. Then they sprinkled salt water on the small pieces and they sang a chant. They sang:

I want his soul, his soul. I want his soul, his soul.

When I look at it, his arms grow.

I want his soul.

When I look at it, his legs grow.

I want his soul.

When I look at it, the whole body grows.

Then the boy got up, and his whole body formed again. He tried to eat his mother and the grandmother,[334] but when they sang the chant again, the boy became human once more. Now the boy was very angry because of what they had done to him. He went into the woods and brought back some sticks.

He gave them to the women and told them to strike them together to make a drumming sound. The women began to strike the sticks while they were singing their song:

Cut down a coconut trunk and bring it in.

Cut down a Pandanus trunk and bring it in,

A weapon for the giant boy to use.

Crack! All the way to the ocean side.

Crack! All the way to the lagoon side.

Crack! Right to the center of the village.

Then the boy pulled out a large coconut tree from the ground and threw it. The tree flew into the village and destroyed many houses. They sang again:

Cut down a coconut trunk and bring it in.

Cut down a Pandanus trunk and bring it in,

A weapon for the giant boy to use.

Crack! All the way to the ocean side.

Crack! All the way to the lagoon side.

Crack! Right to the center of the village.

The boy pulled out another coconut tree and threw it to the village. The tree flew into the village and destroyed many more houses. Later on the boy himself reached the village, and he was standing in front of his

father. Then he turned to his mother and asked "Mother, what shall I do to my father?"

The mother replied "It is up to you, son."

But the father said to his son "Don't kill me, son. I will be your servant."

Then the boy asked his mother again "What shall I do to my father?"

And the mother replied "It's up to you, son."

The father stood up and begged him "Don't kill me, son. I'll fish for you."

The son turned to his father, saying "Now I am a man, and all these things you are telling me, I was supposed to do for you, because you are my father." After Drelbo Jabo had talked to his father, he picked up a big tree trunk and dropped it on his father and he died. When the father died,[335] his son became the ruler of the island.

This story is from Arno Atoll. Jabo is in Arno, and today all the trees at the ocean side of Jabo are short trees. There are no tall trees because here is where the boy Drelbo was cutting drum sticks for his mother and the grandmother.

THE STORY OF LOJEIK

Lojeik was a man who lived on Enekoien, Ebon Atoll. One day a whaling boat arrived and came near to the barrier reef on the ocean side of Enekoien. The man Lojeik swam to the whaling boat and climbed on board. There was little wind and the whaling ship slowly tacked to and fro. Lojeik did not return to the island of Enekoien. The whaler belonged to an America company

and took Lojeik to America. Lojeik stayed in America for 10 years until the time when the boat returned again to Ebon.[336]

The people on Ebon had forgotten the man Lojeik. They thought that the whalers on the boat had beat up Lojeik and that he had died during the time that the boat was on the ocean side of Enekoien. When the ship once more returned to Enekoien the islanders went to the small boat coming ashore from the whaler and helped bring it up on to the beach under the coconut trees. The people of Enekoien did not recognize Lojeik because he was wearing foreign clothing and he was just like the foreigners from the whaling ship.

On the island where they were, the men islanders said together "men, let us choose which person we will each fight, and kill the foreigners." During this time Lojeik had not forgotten Marshallese and he said to the islanders "Watch out if you kill us because we will shoot you." But during this time there had never been guns brought to the Marshall Islands, and the islanders didn't know what a gun was. When they heard Lojeik speak Marshallese they said "one of the foreigners (RiPalle) knows the language of our islands" and they were very surprised.

All the men of Enekoien said "the man (Lojeik) is lying, and we will prepare to each fight until all are dead and no one can escape." The man Lojeik said to them "do you see the pieces of wood we are holding, they are not wood but they are for fighting." "You won't be able to go against us." When the people didn't believe Lojeik, he gave them a warning, and told them to look up at a certain coconut tree because the foreigners were going to shoot at the tree and show them how powerful the guns were.

After they shot at the coconut tree and the palm fronds, coconuts, and the heart of the coconut tree all fell to the ground, and then Lojeik said "that's what will happen to you if we shoot you. All of you will be gone and dead. There won't be one man, woman, old man, old woman, child alive, if we shoot you."

Every foreigner had his own gun that was the kind Li-jjikolkol. Now during this time when the islanders were thinking this over, there was a woman who came who was Lojeik's younger sister. She heard Lojeik speak Marshallese, and she said "who is the man who knows our Marshallese language?" The woman, the younger sister of Lojeik came close to Lojeik and looked at him closely and studied his face. When she recognized that this man looked like her older brother and they had thought that the whalers had killed him, she then asked "who are you?" Lojeik was not anxious to reveal who he was, and he said to the woman who was his younger sister "I come from close to heaven."

The woman who is Lojeik's younger sister now began to really recognize Lojeik and she wanted to look to see if this man had a tattoo on his chest. The tattoo she was looking for was a bunch of spears tied together. When she said to Lojeik to show his chest, Lojeik unbuttoned his shirt and the woman saw the tattoo and recognized that this was her brother Lojeik. The woman cried and held her brother and said "It's true this is Lojeik." Lojeik stood in the middle of all the people and showed that it was true, that he had returned from America where he had disappeared to many years ago from Ebon.

This is the end of the story about the man Lojeik.

The Social Context of Tattooing

The land area of the atolls of the Marshall Islands is very limited, with much of the land not useful for settlement and intensive horticulture. The limited amount of land coupled with occurrence of natural desasters, such as typhoon, implied not only tight controls of the population size, but also of the use of the avialable resources. The chiefs exerted control over the use of the resource and determined which was harvested when and where, etc. Most of the chiefs had linkeages beyond the atoll of residence, commonly due to familty and clanship ties. This allowed to offset the effcets of desasters on one's own atoll by calling upon the resources of others.

This linkeages made long dstance voyaging necessary. As most Micronesian atoll populations, the Marshallese were superb seafarers who ventured far. They were as much and probably even more at home at sea than they were on the thin strips of land making up their atolls.[337]

The Marshallese κοινε, the world in which they sailed, ranged from at least Kosrae[338] and Pohnpei in the west,[339] to central Kiribati and Banaba (Ocean I.) in the south, Eneen-Kio in the north and Johnston and probably Hawaii in the east.[340] The world they knew about, however, was considerably larger, as they had been in contact

with the people they had visited, as well as with the people who had visited them either intentionally or accidentally, namely Central and Western Carolineans (Yapese)[341] and i-Kiribati,[342] both of which had extensive contacts of their own. In addition, their own accidental dispersals carried the Marshallese far afield.[343]

WHY TATTOOING? THE MARSHALLESE VIEW

The reasons given by the Marshallese for why they were tattooed range from social and societal distinction to the aim to avoid ageing skin showing folds and wrinkles.[344] At the turn of the century, tattooing was described by many Marshallese as something permanent, some reminder (*muaga*) of being Marshallese.[345] In the literature the religious component of tattooing is often downplayed,[346] and this opinion is perpetuated by authors of Christian (missionary) background.[347] Other authors equally strongly disagree.[348]

According to the authors downplaying the religeous context, the main aim of the tattoo, is said to have been the decoration of the body for artistic purposes. This statement, however, needs some discussion and analysis.

Tattooing documented that the person could endure pain and thus prove himself/herself worthy. It also visually documented a certain economic wealth and standing, as the tattoo had to be paid for with food and mats. If the person was not wealthy enough, a professionally executed tattoo could either not be afforded[349] or the execution was conducted by relatives, such as one's mother.[350]

Krämer mentions that the face tattoo in the Marshall Islands is

> *"not as artistic by far as the spiral facial design of the Maori of New Zealand. It fulfills the same purpose, however, here as well as there, which is to impart a demonical and terrifying aspect to its wearer and also to make him seem rich, in short to give him more prestige".*[351]

It needs to be noted that while the *irooj* had by definition both wealth (i.e. access to resources) and prestige, the latter could be increased by appropriate tattoos. However, tattooing is also reported to have increased the desireability of the tattooed person by the other sex. Some tattooes, both among men and women, were commonly concealed by clothing and could only seen at close contact.

ORIGIN OF MARSHALLESE TATTOOING

Tattooing is found throughout Oceania and in such a variety, with such a diversity of patterns and motifs that it is futile to seek a hypothetical origin.[352] There are some data on the Marshallese conception of a divine origin of tattooing, which indicates some of the spiritual connections it has. Let us review these.

In contrast to other kinds of body decoration, tattooing was considered by the Marshallese as something lasting, imperishable, and a gift of the gods.[353] The origin of tattooing in the Marshall Islands is of divine command. The main gods of tattooing were Lewōj and Lanij.[354] Lowa sent two of his sons, Lanij and Lewōj to Ailinglaplap. The two gods were said to have lived on Bouj (Ãne-piñ) on Ailinglaplap Atoll for a while, where they taught the *irooj* the spiritual and social lore which

made up the traditional fabric of Marshallese society. They tattooed all the living creatures,[355] thus giving them special colours and markings. These two gods are said to have come to the people and said

> *"You must become tattooed, so that you become beautiful, and that your skin does not shrink [and thus become wrinkly] with age. The fish in the ocean are striped and have lines, and because of this the people must also have such lines. Everything will pass after death, only the tattoos will remain; they will outlive you. A human will leave all and everything behind on earth, all his/her belongings; only the tattoo will be taken into the grave."*[356]

Thus only the tattooes will be taken to the spritual island Eb, the land of the dead. Traditionally, after death all belongings were distributed among relatives and the bodies of commoners were cast to sea. *Irooj* were comonly buried on land with little in terma of grave goods.

In other oral traditions all people, lizard people, and rat people[357] and all animals congregate on Bouj to become tattooed.[358] All animals [of Bikini] came to this tattooing ceremony in the first canoe, but the canoe sank.[359] This tradition again documents the predominance of Ailinglaplap at the time of its recording.[360]

Lewōj and Lanij are gods/heroes who appear often in the mythology of the Marshall Islands, and who are responsible for many good things, such as planting stars in the sky,[361]

The anthropogeny differs for the Ralik and the Ratak Chains (figures 87 and 88). In both interpretations Lanij and Lewoj are brothers, either direct decendenats of Wullep or his sister. The Marshallese cosmogeny sees for main gods (figure 89), located at each corner of the

world, together with the god *Laidekjet*, who resided at the bottom of the sea. The middle ground and the sky were the realm of Lanej and Lewōj. Both were regarded as the highest gods as they watched when all other gods slept.[362]

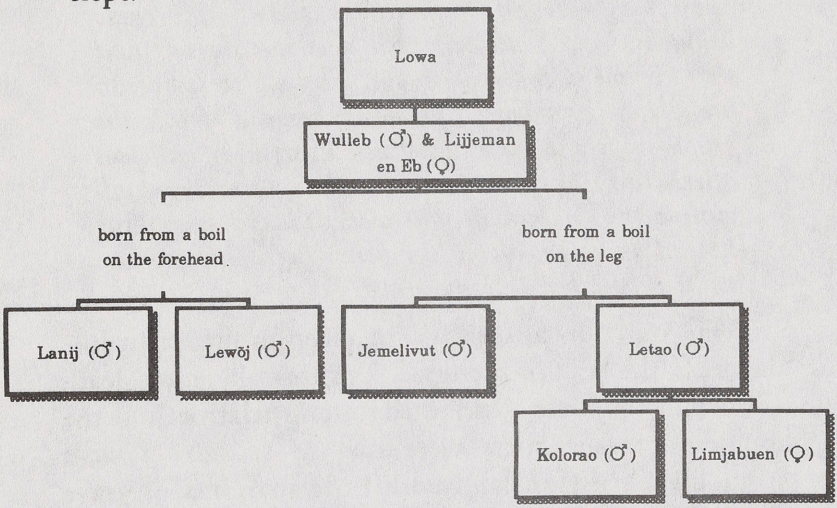


Figure 87. Anthropogeny of the Ralik Chain.

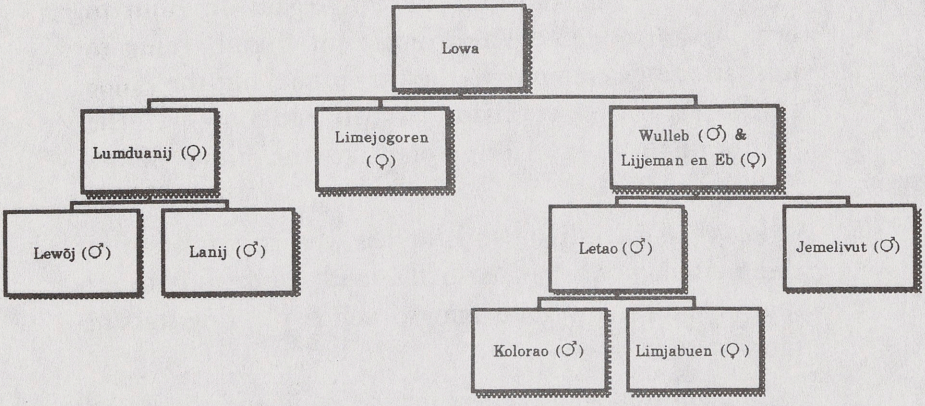


Figure 88. Anthropogeny of the Ratak Chain

The *anidj* Rebokota learnt tattooing on Āne-piñ and took it with him to Rongelap.[363] In addition, the god

Ludjiruäwe played a major role in some traditions on tattooing, though at the time of his fieldwork, Krämer stated in his treatise on Marshallese tattooing, that tattooing had already become almost extinct and he could not elicit any further details on their relationship.

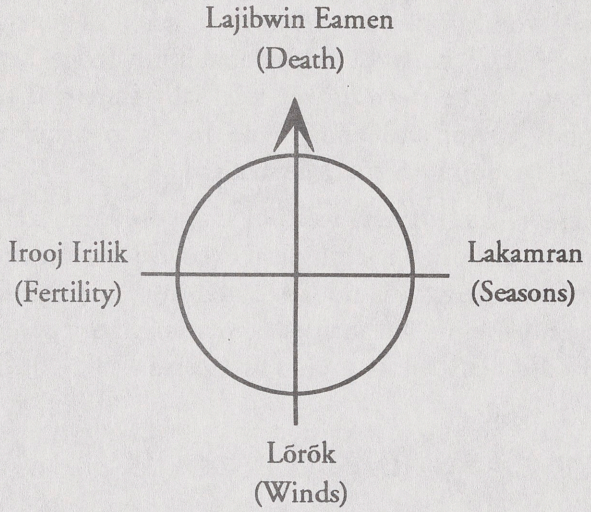


Figure 89. Cosmogeny of the Marshall Islands

THE SPIRITUAL NATURE OF TATTOOING

It has been mentioned earlier on that sacrifices were made to the gods related to tattooing. In addition, the gods were asked for good omens to commence and execute the tattooing. Failure to do so, or execution of a tattoo without divine assent, was believed to cause the sea to come over the land and to cause the destruction of the island(s).[364] The god's punishment brought in the form of a transgression of the sea, the single-most destructive event that could befall the people, was used as a threat to enforce a number of social rules and taboos.

The main body of knowledge on tattooing was in the hands of the *irooj,* who had the skills of divination and the like. In view of the numerous restrictions, mainly of sexual nature, connected with the exercise of these skills, the *irooj* maintained sorcerers or magicians (*ri-bubu, ri-joubwe)* who forecast the future, and acted as general advisors.[365] The body of traditional knowledge kept by the *irooj* and the *ri-bubu* was originally imparted by the two gods Lewoj and Lanij, who had also brought the skills of tattooing to the Marshall Islands.

These *ri-bubu* then, were in charge of the tattooing ceremony, although the physical execution of the tattoos, the craftsmanship, was not restricted to them. The chiefs, however, were the authorities who whould approve of or who would deny the tattooing of a person.[366]

WHO IS TATTOOED?

The question of who was and who was not tattooed is very complicated to answer, as many authors appear to be confused. In many cases short term observations from one island or atoll were generalised for the entire group. An example of this is the observation by the German sailor Eisenhardt, who stated for the mid 1880s that the women on Ailuk Atoll were not tattooed.[367]

Tattoing was apparently governed by rank, gender and age. Curtis, based on oral traditions collected on Lae, asserts that men of both low and high rank were tattoed, while among women tattoes were restricted to those of chiefly rank.[368]

Observations among the tattooed men showed that

"All the men adopted pretty nearly the same design and only four lines, with which he cheek is decorated

from the temple to the jaw bone are the exclusive design of the high chiefs."[369]

Kotzebue and Chamisso, writing for Wotje and some atolls of the northern Ratak Chain state:

"the artistically delicate tattooing is different according to sex, otherwise uniform for everyone. Besides [a] regular design, which is executed only on adults and is lacking in a few, they all have groups of symbols or lines tattooed on them as children on loins, arms, or more rarely, on the face."[370]

Chamisso mentions a young chief who was more richly and more elegantly decorated than a lower ranking individual.[371] In the same vein, Erdland mentions that tattooing was not restricted to, but most common among chiefly people.[372]

The acquisition of tattoos seems also to have been related to the age of the individual. Choris, artist on the Kotzebue expedition, claims in his account that all men over 20 years of age are tattooed, while all women over 17 years have a tattoo of some kind.[373] Kotzebue mentions that a young chief (from Airok, Maloleap Atoll) and his sister had not been tattooed. He speculated that the fact that the entire tattoo is applied in one prolonged session (which was not the case) may have mitigated against tattooing at an early age.[374] Children may have some of their arms and legs tattooed.[375]

The age factor is highlighted by the following observation: The Marshallese distinguished a number of age stages a human being would go through:

Jodikdik	Childhood
Jokanekan	Adolescence
Jolaplap	Adulthood
Jomij	Age of the complete tattoo
Jobidodo	Old age.[376]

Although elaborate tattoos seem to be a mark of greater age, younger individuals would wear small tattoos, mainly in form of ornament bands around their upper arms and thighs.[377]

The different tattoo designs are differentiated according to gender. For example, generally speaking, men have no tattooing on the leg, other than, at most, a zigzag diagonal line on the thigh or a couple of cross–bars on the calf.[378] Women may have a more elaborate design. Cheek and face tattoos, on the other hand, were a societal marker, and restricted to chiefly men.[379] Tattooing of *irooj* was generally also distributed "over parts of the body that are spared on the common man: sides, loins, neck, or arms."[380]

Erdland points out that half-caste women were also tattooed,[381] which indicates that tattooing was not limited to pure blooded Marshallese. On the other hand the Msrshallese inheritance is matrilineal and thus women play(ed) a greater role, half-caste or not.

WHO IS NOT TATTOOED?

It is also interesting to observe who is not tattooed and as such is clearly distinguished from the rest. Tattooing does not seem to have been compulsory, as in the last quarter of the 19th century chiefly women could be seen without any tattoo on their arms or shoulders.[382] It is unclear, however, whether these women had a "secret" tattoo.[383]

According to Kotzebue[384] the people of Utirik and Taka Atoll, in the north of the Ratak Chain, were not tattooed at the begining of the 19th century. Whether this is an observation based on a selctive sample of people

then present or whether it is an accurate statement of the stuation remains unclear.

WHO TATTOOES ?

In traditional times, it seems, professional tattooing was executed by tattoo master craftsmen (*ri-eo*),[385] who were possibly also sourcerers or performers of other religious rites or medicinal people. In former times the investiture of this form of ornamentation was accompanied by detailed ceremonies and the cost was so excessive that the person had to work all year to pay the priest.[386] Hernsheim wrote

> *"Elaborate tattooing covers almost the entire body. In former times times tattooing had been connected with a whole series of complicated rituals, and the fee which the priest received for it was so high that a poor man had to work for years before he could afford to have a desired ornament."*[387]

There seems to have been a cult which tattooed and practised magic. The term *el* is known for this cult.[388] It is interesting to note that the term also applies to a canoe part, the place where one sits, just behind the middle.

Hernsheim asserts for the 1870s that there were still special people who did the tattooes.[389] According to Finsch, writing ten years later, there were no professional tattooers, and a number of people of both sexes perform tattooing, such as Kabua tattooing himself and intending to tattoo his own son Lailing[390], or being tattooed by someone's mother to cut down the costs involved.[391] Finsch mentions that both genders tattoo, and that women have been known to have tattooed men. According to Erdland, chiefs insisted on their women being tattooed

to raise their attractiveness. Often, this tattoo was executed by the husbands themselves.[392]

IMPORTANCE OF TATTOOING IN THE EYES OF THE MARSHALLESE

According to Erdland of all ornaments, the Marshallese placed the greatest pride and ambition into their tattoos.[393] Tattooing, therefore, was not something which the Marshallese easily bestowed upon non–Marshallese, even if they were received warmly and with friendship by the Marshallese. In the early 19th century, Chamisso, as well as some other Russian sailors apparently attempted very persistently to receive a tattoo. The Marshallese ostensibly agreed, only to put off the tattooing by a variety of arguments, ranging from pain to be endured to medical reasons, such as potential inflammation, until it was to late and the Europeans had to leave.[394]

Because all traditional customs were being given up, tattooing had also become also a dying art in the mid of last century.[395] Tattooing was connected to "strength," *i.e.* personal valor during the operation. Since the social values changed in the 1870s and tattooing has lost its significance "much to the regret of the chiefs and soothsayers, who formerly received much return for it."[396]

Yet, still in the 1910s, according to Father Erdland, tattooing was regarded by the (older?) Marshallese as the single most important heritage handed down from their ancestors.[397] This is indicative of the social value which had been attached to tattooing.

The Frequency Of Tattooing

In this section we will look at the frequency of tatooing, both be gender and over time.

FREQUENCY OF TATTOOING BY GENDER

In 1879 tattooing was far more common among the men than among women.[398] This statement seems to hold true through the ages. For example, Hasebe's census of 348 people conducted on Jaluit in 1932 showed that women were substantially less often tattooed (14.6%) than men (45.8%). Even today Marshallese men are much more commonly tattooed than women.

FREQUENCY OF TATTOOING OVER TIME

In 1879 and 1880, when the German naturalist and ethnographer Otto Finsch lived for almost a year on Jaluit, Arno and Mile, tattooing was still practised, although already becoming more rare. Men with complete tattooes were already a rarity, even among chiefs. Finsch estimates that about half of the adult population of the

atolls seen by him was not tattooed, as well as almost all children.[399]

Unanimously all sources of the German Colonial era indicate that tattooing was increasingly on the decline and that only the old people were still tattooed.[400]

In the 1930s the Japanese ethnographer Hasebe Kotondo undertook a survey of the Marshallese tattooing tradition and found that traditional tattooing was very much a dead art. He conducted a limited census among 348 men and women on Jaluit Atoll (table 6), and found that 57 (16%) had traditional patterns, 68 (19.5%) had European letters or motifs, while 223 (64%) had no tattoos at all.

Table 6 Census of tattoos conducted by Hasebe (1932) on Jaluit

	Traditional		European		Untattooed		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Men	52	21.8	57	24.0	129	54.2	238
Women	5	4.6	11	10.0	94	85.4	110
Total	57	16.4	68	19.5	223	64.1	348

Of his male population examined, only eight (2.3%) had a complete chest tattoo, while the majority of the men bearing traditional tattoos had only horizontal bands on their arms and legs. The knowledge of tattooing was rapidly fading in the 1930s, as can be documented by the fact that all zigzag motifs[401] were now called *elonga*.

Writing of his ethnographic observations in 1946, A.Spoehr mentions that

> *"neither tattooing nor enlarged ear holes in the ear lobes are common practices today, though probably most of the older people are tattooed on the arms and have enlarged piercings of the ear lobes".*[402]

Today there are no traditionally tattooed men or women known to the author or the staff of the Alele Museum.

Table 7 presents an analysis of the frequency of word relating to tattooes in the various editions of the Marshallese dictionary.[403] As can be readily seen, the representation of words related to tattooing dramatically decreased between 1906 and the end of World War II, indicating that tattooing had lost its importance.

Table 7 List of words related to tattooing in various Marshallese-English dictionaries

Year of publication	No of terms	No of words	Index (‰)	Source
1906	21	3550	5.92	Erdland 1906
1945	3	3850	0.78	Carr & Elbert 1945
1986	3	3850	0.78	KEC 1968
1976	5	8500	0.59	Abo *et al.* 1976

Today traditional tattooing is no longer practised and even European-style patterns and motifs are rare. It would appear that less than 5% of the adult male population under 40 years of age, and none of the women of the same age group are (visibly) tattooed.[404] This for example, can be compared with Fiji, where the majority of young Fijians[405] is tattooed.

The Banning of Tattooing

Having shown that Marshallese tattooing was on the demise in the second part of the 19th century, after the arrival of the first European residents in the Marshall Islands, let us now investigate the reasons for the demise in tattooing.

There had been intermittent contact with the outside world since the first Spanish visits during the 16th century. The contact increased in the late 18th century as the Marshall Islands lay on the trade route between the new British Colony in Australia and Canton in China. Vessels passed through and over time limited trade developed. The Marshallese retained their independence from thee influences and retained a fearsome reputation for cutting off and overpowering ships and landing parties. The local culture was strong and firm, and the social order functioning. Intermittemt internecine warfare was waged to and fro, and there was an abundance of options for chiefs to prove themselves and their courage.

Then there came a cultural change upon the islands at a scale hitherto unprecendented: the missionaries and the inroduction of the Christian religion.

To the missionaries teaching the gospel was omni-present and omni-potent. Moreover, it was incompatible with the old customs prevailing in the islands. But apart from the teachings of the Bible, and the fear of an

almighty god, as disruptive as this ideological indoctrination proved to be, the missionaries brought along their ownset of moral, ethical and aesthetical values, which were the values of their own class level. Most missionaries seem to have come from the lower or middle classes, self–righteous, narrow–minded and rather intolerant to nonconformists. Combined with single-minded religious fervor and zeal this formed a potent mix which bode ill for the cultures they were about to descend upon.

TATTOOING IN THE EYES OF THE MISSIONARIES

The missionaries brought to the Pacific the "blessings" of the Christian faith. Doing so, they instilled in the people the fear of a single and "all mighty", omni-present god, revengeful and destructive to non–believers, a kind of god many of the Pacific societies never possessed or imagined. Furthermore they created a new consumer–type economy, foreign in its workings and concept, completely outside the parameters of the traditional societal structures, and largely dependent on introduced foods and goods. Most, if not all missionary enterprises of the foundation years were coupled with the provision of trade items sought after by the locals[406] and were backed up, where possible, by the military power of naval vessels of the missionaries' home country or other European naval powers.[407] Where the missionaries were unable to gain an immediate foothold, because the people they were dealing with were self sufficient in their needs or had a strong sense of societal unity, missionaries are on record of destroying food plantations

and thereby creating food shortages and economic dependency.[408]

Commonly, a foothold could be gained by supporting a lesser ranking, yet ambitious chief by supplying him with trade goods—which in turn could be traded for recognition, alliances and other favours—and sometimes even weapons, in return for which the Christian missionaries were given a place to stay and the support of the chief.[409] In short, the missionaries supported internecine warfare and fostered societal divisiveness if it allowed them to gain a foothold on an island or a region. The missionaries had a disruptive effect on the local society, economically, politically and spritually. As soon as a foothold was gained, the remodelling of the society began with a fervour only Christian mission zeal can bring about.

The denominations we are to be concerned with as far as the Marshall Islands were involved, were the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions ("Boston Mission")[410] and the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesu (Jesuites). The first Christian mission to the Marshall Islands was founded by the ABCFM on Ebon in 1859. Not until the 1890s had the Protestant missions established themselves on most atolls.[411]

Along with the teachings of the Bible, the missionaries brought along their set of moral, ethical and aesthetical values, which were—of course—those of the contemporary society of their home country, and more to the point, the values of their own class level. It was these values then, which they superimposed by persuasion or force on the peoples of the Pacific, who until then had been able to survive quite well without the doubtful blessings of Christiandom and European society. Throughout the Pacific, tattooing, traditional attire, as

well as traditional dancing was considered to be the apex of heathenism and therefore banned by missionaries of any denomination, be they Marists, London Missionary Society, Wesleyan,[412] or American Protestant Revivalists.[413]

Exemplary of missionary attitudes may be the following. Describing a missionary visit to Hivaoa, Marquesas Islands, Warren (Boston Mission) mentions the tattooing of the Marquesas people and comments that:

> *"their naked bodies were so disfigured by tattooing that their appearance was exceedingly revolting".*[414]

In all of Polynesia the Marsquesas had developed tattooing to its apex and took pride in whole body compositions.[415] Yet, European aesthetic concepts also strongly prevail in the following passage:

> "[In the Marquesas] *Tattooing is considered a mark of great beauty. ... But we should consider the beauty of a man very questionable, to say the least, who had a large lizard pictured on each cheek, with its tail and legs spread in each direction, and looking as though it was ready to jump right into the man's eyes!"*[416]

At another location the Marquesas people are said to "tattoo their body horribly, from head to foot".[417]

Tattooing was a custom which the missionaries had to put an end to for a number of reasons, each equally compelling to the self–righteous souls from rural backgrounds:

- Tattooing was connected with the old traditional way of life and the very expression of both status and group identity they were set to modifiy.
- Tattooing was closely interwoven with traditional religious and spiritual beliefs, and thus "heathen".

- Tattooing was perceived to be aesthetically offensive to the European eye.
- In the 19th century both British and U.S. penal systems identified released convicts and Army deserters by their tattoos.
- A bible reference existed mentioning that the Isrealites shall not be tattooed[418] – hence tattooing be un-Christian.[419]

On the balance, therefore, the missionary abhorrence towards tattooing was partially based on European narrow–mindedness and European ideals of beauty and aesthetics, and—for a fundamentalist—was morally justifiable by the bible.[420]

An interesting side issue is the fact the missionaries not always banned tattooing. According to some contemporary ethnographic sources, the (French) Catholic missionaries were on the whole more tolearnt than their English and American Protestant counterparts. For Rotuma, and Polysnesian Islands north of Viti Levu, Fiji, it is reported that tattooing of traditional motifs was banned by the Catholic priests, but that a tattoo of Christ on the Cross was permitted.[421]

With the increased Christianisation of the Marshall Islands and the wide–ranging changes in traditions during the late 19th century tattooing had become outlawed and ceased to be conducted.[422] That Christianity was the major influence becomes clear if one considers that in the mid-1880s tatooing was still practised in the north, where Christian religion had not yet gained a foothold:

> *"The original native customs are still to be firmly entrenched in the northern islands of the group. Here tattooing and flower decorations are still en vogue, as well as the enormous distention of the ear lobes."* [423]

The speed with which the missionaries could effect this change is astonishing. Tattooing was banned soon after the missionaries arrival on Ebon. Since the special rites associated with tattooing in the Marshall Islands had also a religious significance, the Ebonese shortly after the arrival of the European missionaries showed reluctance to carry out these rites in the missionaries presence; about 800 people left for Jaluit to do it in safety there.[424]

TATTOOING IN THE EYES OF THE GERMAN COLONIAL AUTHORITIES

It seems that the German colonial authorities had nothing or only little to say about tattooing. A survey of the Colonial Records showed that this matter played no role in the correspondence between the Station Chief in Jaluit and the Governour General in Rabaul, New Britain. The German Colonial legislation does not outlaw tattooing either.[425]

TATTOOING IN THE EYES OF THE JAPANESE MANDATE AUTHORITIES

Unlike the Germans, the Japanese authorities, who took over the administration of the Marshall Islands following the outbreak of World War I, banned tattooing.

According to a U.S. government publication of 1943[426]

> *"In 1922 the Japanese made tattooing or marking if one's own or another's body a police offense under penalty of enforced labor for a period not to ecxeed 30 days. This law may have been an effort to erase*

the physical marks of distinction separating chiefs from commoners. Or it may have been designed to eliminate a source of infection, since it is reported that, after being tattooed, a person usually develops a high fever. This is doubtless the result of the native method of tattooing, which is to dip a sharp-toothed comb in pigment and drive the teeth beneath the surface of the skin with a small hammer. Considerable ceremony surrounds the operation. The high value the natives place on tattoos makes it probable that the Japanese ruling has met with resistance."

No further information on the enforcement of the ruling, or the intentons of the ruling could be obtained.

A Future For Marshallese Tattooing?

At present the Marshall Islands experience a great amount of development both on the economical and the social planes. Both have impacts on the historical and cultural resources of the Republic. The traditional culture is faced with an onslaught of foreign influences, ranging from western technology and work patterns to videos and foreign cultural values. More and more traditional skills and traditional values are becoming obsolete as the younger generations embrace without criticism what is being presented to them. As a result many of the traditional skills are becoming extinct.

The Marshallese national identity is not (yet) challenged. Throughout modern history, and despite the invaguaries of colonial administrations,[427] the Marshallese have proven to be a cohesive group with strong ties to their home atolls, although not without some elitism of the southern atolls and the inevitable inter-atoll jibes. A common and predominant language, Kajin Majol prevails, and previously existent boundaries of regional dialects imposed by traditional communication systems have become blurred if not obliterated altogether.[428]

Yet on the other hand, like in other parts of Micronesia, the young adult male population of the Marshall Islands has a very high suicide rate, which

seems to be correlated to a breakdown of the traditional family values and the traditional family support system in the past ten to fifteen years. Acculturation or cultural transition problems are seen as key problems afflicting young adult males who mainly come from families who recently moved from the outer islands to the urban centres.[429]

In addition, social pressures within a family have increased as the available resources became less for each indivdual. The increase in the average size of households on outer islands is an indicatior for the trend of concentration and increasing internal pressures. Modern urban society based on a monetary system of exchange tends to favour a general loss of identity and a loss of male role models to strive for. This is hardly surprising. Of the traditional male role models most have entirely or largely ceased to be relevant or socially permissible: excellence and endurance in voyaging, excellence and bravery in warfare, endurance of pain in elaborate tattooing, excellence in fishing, excellence in horticultural food production. All that has been offered as a replacement as male values is copra production, which, as far as the urban centres is concerned is also not applicable. In the urban centres, as expected, the incidence of suicides is the highest.[430]

Tattooing serves in some countries as a rallying point for personal and national pride. Western Samoa is a good example for this. Here fast economic development is connected with numerous side effects described for the Marshall Islands. Yet people take great pride in being samoan and uphold Samoa customs (*fa'a Samoa*). Many men take pride in being elaborately tattooed. This process is even more exemplified by the fact that more and more Samoans, living overseas, such as in Auckland, New Zealand, and actually being citizens of that coun-

try identify their heritage as Samoan. This identification is visually shown by tattoos.

Tattooing may once again play an important role in identifying the Marshallese (male) self if modern, Christian belief-induced values can be overcome.

Endnotes

In this section we will address the scholarly comments and annotations, to the statements made in the body of the text. As a whole, the text presented in the notes is of interest only to those interested in–depth with the etymology of the tatto motifs as well as the more intrinsic data on the history of tattooing. The majority of the endnotes are concerned with the bibliographic sourcing of the observations.

1 For a detailed and exhaustive treatment of Greek, Roman and early Christian tattooing see Schönfeld 1960; Herz 1899:52-53; 176-177; Joest 1887:105. For Romans and Greek tattoos see also Pauly-Wissowa 1923: 2362-2370 (signum) and 1929: 2521-2522 (στιγματιοσ, στιγμα, στιζειν, σημιον–Greek; signun, stigma, nota–Latin). Constantine I. banned tatooing in the face, as this was god's image. Banning in Northern Europe occurred on the Council of Calcuth (NorthumbErdland) in A.D. 787 (Cattani 1922:20; Joest 1887:107).

2 It is of interest to note that the term "stigma" had been the term for "tattoo" and "body marking" in general in Greek and Roman times (see footnote 1) and has today attained an entirely negative connotation.

3 Leviticus XIX, 28. Yet 16th and 17th century Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land had their arms tattooed to commemorate the occasion (Schönfeld 1960).

4 General: Schönfeld 1960; The negative images seem to have been strong in the 19th century but seem to have become more liberal since World War II (*cf.* Rüdiger 1874; Lippmann 1894; Herz 1899:167-174).

5 *Tatau*—to paint, to draw. Originally introduced into English from the Tahitian via James Cook's description of his first stay in Tahiti (*cf.* Joest 1887 or Grimm & Grimm 1935:159 for

entymology). In German "tätowieren", in French "tatouer", in Italian "tatuaggio", in Danish "tatoveringer", in Portuguese "tatuagens", in Swedish "tatuering", all originally from the same root. For a treatment of the entymology of the word tatau see Joest (1887) and Krämer (1903:II 64). Until the loanword "tatau" took on in Europe, a number of terms had been used: tattooed people were called "Bemalte" or "Punktierte" in German or "Pinctados" in Spanish, while tattooing was called prikschilderen (Dutch), punctures, punctuation (English) and the like (Schönfeld 1960; Joest 1887). In Japan, however, where tattooing always stayed *en vogue*, no replacement of the name occurred and the term *irezumi* prevails until today.

6 Hasebe 1932.

7 Chamisso 1986:193. Other members of the same expedition, mainly sailors, attempted to obtain tattooes — also in vain.

8 The literature on European tattooing is vast and shall not be reviewed in detail. Good overviews can be found in: Schönfeld 1960; Herz 1899;

9 Tonga: McKern n.d. Hawaii: Kaeppler 1988; New Zealand: Gathercole 1988; Samoa: Krämer 1902; Marquesas: Brouwer 1972—The Micronesian tattoos have been documented to a varying degreee of detail by the members of the German South Seas Expedition of 1910. Damm 1938; Damm & Sarfert 1935; Eilers 1935; 1936; Finsch 1894; Hambruch 1914; 1915; Hambruch & Eilers 1936; Krämer 1926; 1932; 1935; 1937; Müller 1917; Sarfert 1919; Sarfert & Damm 1929.

10 Green 1979. Green argues that a number of motifs of the early Lapita pottery (1900-500 B.C.) had persisted and had been used in Hawaiian tattoos and on bark cloth.

11 Brain 1979:150; see also below in this study.

12 Mile Atoll was chosen as the reference point. It needs to be noted that the Republic of the Marshall Islands, in its internationally recognised boundaries, comprises 28 Atoll as and five islands. The geographical term "Marshall Islands", however, also includes Wake Atoll, currently under the jurisdiction of the United States of America. The Republic of the Marshall Islands has repeatedly made clear its position that Wake Atoll (Eneen-Kio in Marshallese terms) forms an integral part of the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

13 Bender 1969; Abo *et al.* 1976. At the time of writing the spelling had been endoresed by the Cabinet and was being introduced to the parliament (Nitijelā).

14 Primary sources: Anonymous 1886; Brandeis 1908; Chamisso 1986:149; 150; 153; 193; 197; 263; 275; 276; 278-279; 353; Choris 1822; Eisenhardt 1888; Erdland 1906:58; 1914:19-23; Finsch 1879; 1887; 1893:174; Hager 1886:73-74; Hasebe 1932;

Hernsheim 1880:41-42; 1883:77-79; 1887:299; Humphrey 1887; Kirchhoff 1896; Kotzebue 1821: II 113; Krämer 1904; 1906:404-409; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:91-98; Kubary 1887; Kurze 1887; Schnee 1904:252; Schneider 1891; Seidel 1890; Warren 1860:198; Werner 1889:363; Wood 1875:198; 204.—Secondary Sources: Herz 1899:100-102; Kaeppler 1972.

15 Seidel 1890; Hezel 1983:17. For "pintados/pinctados" in the meaning of tattooes see footnote 5.

16 The Russian expedition of 1816/1817 visited the atolls of Wotje (most of the duration of their visit), Erikup, Aur, Maloelap, and Ailuk. Other atolls were tocuhed upon.

Adalbert von Chamisso, a German poet and amateur naturalist, and the French artist *Louis Choris* as well as some other scientists accompanied *Otto von Kotzebue* on an voyage of discovery, financed by the Russian Czar. The Russians visited the Marshall Islands in 1816 and 1817. Chamisso's, Choris', and to a lesser extent Kotzebue's account are tainted by the spirit of romanticism, *en vogue* in Europe at the beginning of the 19th century. Many aspects are seen through rose-tinted glasses, on the search for the perfect "savages" living in harmony with nature.

In her discussion of Hawaiian tattoes, Adrienne Kaeppler (1988:160) argues that etchings prepared after Choris sketches are not too accurate and that some design elements had been shifted around, although the design elements themselves may been accurately depicted. Similar observations have been made for the art of most early European visitors to the Pacific, cautioning the scholar to use these illustrations prudently.

17 *William Lay & Cyrus M.Hussey* were two survivors of the mutiny on the whaler *Globe* in 1824. Both lived for over one and a half years on Mile Atoll, kept by the Marshallese as "slaves" and, to a certain extent, as "pets" for their curiosity value. The accounts of these two sailors, however, are very limited regarding information on customs, also regarding tattooing. The same applies to customs related to women. On the whole there is so little mention made of women and the general *laissez faire* of sexual relations that it is almost certain that this information, and other parts have been oppressed.

18 *Franz Hernsheim* (1845-1909), operating originally from Hamburg, was at least temporarily a resident trader who founded his first trading station on Jaluit, and over the years acquired a large fortune, operating trading stations on several atolls. Hernsheim published a series of papers on the Marshall Islands (1880; 1883; 1887).

19 *Carl Hager* apparently was a German trader on employ by the Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen Gesellschaft (?) He

published a 157 page book on the Marshall Islands (1886), written mainly from a geographic and material cultural point of view, with a strong emphasis on Marshallese produce and trade. Social aspects are only touched upon, and if so, only in a cursorily manner.

20 *Otto Finsch*, a German ethnographer and naturalist, visited the Marshall Islands 1879/1880 for almost a year. He stayed mainly on Jaluit, Arno and Mile, predominantly working on the natural history of the Marshall Islands. In many respects his observations on tattooing contradict those of other observers and it appears that the topic was not well investigated by him.

21 *Jan Kubary* was an involuntary emigrant from his native Poland and had been hired by the German trading company *Godeffroy* to collect natural history and ethnological specimens for the company's museum in Hamburg. He resided only shortly in the Marshalls, and spent most of his time in Palau, Yap and Pohnpei.

22 *Otto Eisenhardt*, a German sailor, was stranded for eight months on Ailuk Atoll and made several pertinent observations in his short account of the stay (Eisenhardt 1888).

23 *O.Humphrey* was stranded with the Philadelphia ship *Rainier* on Ujae Atoll for about 8 weeks until he went to Jaluit with a small schooner built from the wreck. His account is rather brief but useful (Humphrey 1887; see also Hezel 1979:140).

24 These administrators, as well as their medical officers (German Government doctors in Jaluit were [in succession?] Drs. E.Steinbach, Schwabe, Bartels, Born and H.Schnee), sent by the Imperial German Government were commonly, but not exclusively, Protestant Prussians.

25 The administrators wrote regular annual reports, which were published in official German Colonial Archives (Anonymous, 1886; 1892; 1893; 1895a; 1895b; 1896; 1897; 1898; 1899; 1900; Steinbach 1893; 195a; 1895b). In addition a number of unpublishd annual reports exist in the Archives of the Reichskolonialamt (Berlin, with copy in the Australian National Library in Canberra) and the Archives of the Governour General of the German Possession in the South Sea (formerly Rabaul, now held by the Archives of Papua New Guinea): e.g. Merz 1910; 1912a; 1912b.

26 *Cf.* Brandeis 1908; Kurze 1887; Schneider 1891; Seidl 1890; v.Werner 1889.

27 *Father A.Erdland*, a Catholic missionary of the Sacred Heart Jesu Society based in Hiltrup, Germany, lived on Jaluit from 1904(?) to 1914. Widely interested in Marshallese culture and language, he published extensively. His major piece of research is a 376 page monograph on the Marshall Islanders published

in 1914. He is also the author of a dictionary on Marshallese language, published in 1906, and until the publication of English-Marshallese dictionaries after World War II the only reliable source.

28 After Warren 1860. Copied from Choris. Many early European accounts contain re-etchings of Choris' pictures, such as de-Rienzi 1836:II Plates 145 and 146, or its German version of 1840, which in turn was recut from the French (deRienzi 1840: II Plates 145&146). It is also reproduced (recut) in Warren 1860 and subsequent volumes. Every recut is further away from the original, and often it is made believe by the author that the picture shown is a new image with semblance of the real tattoos and appearance of the Marshallese. The series of recuts and confusion continues to the present. Recently the Warren recut has been reproduced by Brain (1979:9) and stated to originate from Dumont d'Urville's *Voyage pittoresque d'autour du monde.* (but Dumont d'Urville never landed in the Marshall Islands) which has been cofused with Choris' *Voyage pittoresque d'autour du monde.* of 1822.

29 *Augustin Krämer* and *Hans Nevermann* co-produced the so far most detailed and comprehensive volume on the ethnography of the Marshall islands. *Augustin Krämer,* a diligent specialist in oceanic ethnology, had visited in the Marshall islands a number of times (1897/98; 1910) and had published widely on the topic. While Krämer had been a member of the famous German South Sea Expedition of Hamburg, spending the years 1908 to 1910 in the South Pacific, especially in parts of the German colonies, Hans Nevermann had been the curator for Oceania at the Ethnological Museum of Berlin. During the German South Sea Expedition Krämer's wife Elisabeth covered some of the research into mat weaving, handicraft production and general women's issues. The data presented in that volume, although published as late as 1938, refer to the data collected in 1910 as well as to published sources.

30 After the outbreak of World War I, five Japanese warships appeared end of September in Jaluit lagoon, landed troops and took control over the Marshall Islands. The Japanese flag was hoisted on October 3, 1914. The German Station commander as well as all other administrators were transferred to Japan and eventually back to Germany (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:10). After Jaluit had been taken peacefully, Japanese warships went through the atolls, announced that the Marshall Islands were now under Japanese control, removed German government officials, if present, and informed the resident European traders. Apart from Jaluit and Wotje, where the Japanese established a radio station, Japanese presence on the other atolls during World War I was limited to occasional visits. The

means to "become a man". It is the generic name given to several species of Pomadaysiids whose black markings resemble tattoos that used to be be applied to Tobin males on their reaching adulthood. *Pygloplites diacanthus*, a blue-banded angelfish, has markings on it similar to these seen tattooed on the elderly natives of Pulo Anna. Its name *farupon pisahe he pulo*, refers to that similarity. (Johannes 1981:129-130; for a tattooed chest see *ibid.* figure 17).

55 Erdland 1906:81.

56 Erdland: *äo* for the Ralik Chain, *ö* for the Ratak Chain.

57 An additional use of the word is to express that a tip of a stick or an iron is "bent".

The lion fish or red firefish (*Pterois volitans* [Linnaeus 1758], Family SCORPAENIDAE) occurs on both lagoon and oceanward reef from turbid inshore areas to depths of over 50m. During the day it often hangs under ledges, but may also actively forage as it does at night. It feeds on small fishes, shrimp and crabs and is common in the Western Pacific and Micronesia (Grant 1985:734; Myers 1989:98).

58 However, according to the modern Marshallese -English dictionary (Abo *et al.* 1976), the regal angelfish (*Pygoplites diacanthus*) is called *rübōb*, while the lion fish (*Pterois volitans*) is called *ōō* (Ratak) or *eōō* (Ralik). The latter is also mentioned in the list of fish names in Krämer & Nevermann (1938:299), who list it as *ö* for the Ratak and *eö* for the Ralik Chain. Krämer & Nevermann's fish list also contains a fish *ribob*, but the regal angelfish is not listed as one of the fish species so named.

59 If the term *eo* had originally been taken from fish which had been richly ornamented, then the language has now almost completed a full cycle. The modern Marshallese language contains a term *eoot*, which means "to be striped or spotted, as in ancient tattoos" (Abo *et al.* 1976:65.).

60 Unidentified bird mentioned in Krämer 1904.

61 Krämer 1904; 1906.

62 Finsch 1893:428.

63 Chamisso 1986:263

64 The Micronesian tattoos have beed documented to a varying degreee of detail by the members of the German South Seas Expedition of 1910. Damm 1938; Damm & Sarfert 1935; Eilers 1935; 1936; Finsch 1894; Hambruch 1914; 1915; Hambruch & Eilers 1936; Krämer 1926; 1932; 1935; 1937; Müller 1917; Sarfert 1919; Sarfert & Damm 1929.

65 Krämer: *aridjaub*. (=*addi*—finger [but also the shell of larger clams], *jokur*—shell of a crab [Abo *et al.* 1976]).

66 Krämer: *aridladju.* (=*addi*—finger [but also shell of larger clams]; *lajju* not identified [Abo *et al.* 1976]). For the reconstruction of modern spelling the phonetic equivalent of the German version *ladju* was used. In their list of shellfish names Krämer & Nevermann (1938:301) list the name *ladjo* as *Conus ebraeus.* Erdland's dictionary (1906:144) lists *lājo.*

67 Krämer: *ingidjar;* Erdland (1906:107): *injar;* Erdland: chest tattoo in general. Hasebe: *ingijar, ingidjar, ingjar.* Hasebe (1932), possibly following Erdland, argues that *ingijar* is not a tattoo motif as asserted by Krämer, but a term for an ornament field.

The entomology of the German transcription is not clear beyond reasonable doubt. The following options exist: (a) *anijjar* from *anij*—term for a god; *jar*—to pray (Abo *et al.* 1976:15; 85); (b) *majidjar* from *majid*—to bow; *jar*—to pray (*ibid.* 85;211); (c) *anijnijjar* from *anijnij*—spell, sorcery, witchcraft, magic; *jar*—to pray (presumably also: to sing a sorcerer's chant &c. (*ibid.* 15; 85).

68 Erdland 1914:20. Reconstructed term, as the meaning of the motif is preserved in the literature, but not the term itself. Abo *et al.* (1976:486) also list another term for turtle shell (*jōkur*), but that term also applies to the shell (carapace) of a crab.

69 See for example the legend of Lijjebake and the brothers Letao and Jemeliwut in "Letao and the great mother turtle" (cf. Downing *et al.* 1992:93-94). It is interesting to note that the turtle motif is only used on (male) buttocks, though the meaning of this could not be elucidated.

70 Krämer: *Buär änan Lebulling* Erdland (1906:94): *buireen an Lebulin.* Also a term for an ornament field, apparently on the *mons veneris.* Traditions mention that the tattoo has been invented by *Lōbōllōñ* as a past time. (Erdland 1914:21). According to Marshallese tradition *Lōbōllōñ* is involved in a famous incest case between a *Lerooj* (chieftess) and himself as a *kajur* (commoner).

71 Krämer: *lokan bullak.* Erdland (1906:149): *loganbuilak* tail (Erdland: *logan*; Grösser: *lok*) of the fish *bullak.* Erdland 1914:21. According to the modern Marshallese dictionary, *bwilak* (or *bwilaklak*) is the term for the orange-spine unicorn fish (*Naso lituratus*).

All unicorn fishes (ACANTHURIDAE; subfamily NASINAE) possess a set of small non-retractable dermal (peduncular) plates with protruding spines at their epicaudal fin area. Although claimed by Krämer (1904:25) to possess three dermal plates at each side, the unicorn fish has only two per side (Myers 1989:249).

72 A 60-year old woman Richieiakoe from Kwajalein, who bore such a tattoo

73 Hasebe: *bäle.* Possibly a corruption of *jeleak* (see deeleak).

74 Krämer: *räleag, releag,* apparently related to *räl* = fan; *deel*—fan (Abo *et al.* 1976:52); *eak*—legendary pile of copra brought to Mwimneak on Ebon by a man from Kiribati (*ibid.* 58).

For the fans and their ornament motifs, see E.Krämer (1938:158) and figures in Krämer & Nevermann (1938:plates 12-13).

75 A 60-year old woman Richieiakoe from Kwajalein, who bore such a tattoo (Hasebe 1932).

76 Hasebe: *Jäleak.* Hasebe: *läle* pointed tail fin; *ak* Frigatebird; *bäb* thick midrib of a leaf. Mat weaving knows the motif Lobōnar (Krämer: *labäna, labänak;* E.Krämer: *rebenal, labenak;* Erdland: *löb in ak*), tail feathers of the frigate bird (*ak*; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:161). It is possible that the motif name changed over time, as knowledge of its original meaning became lost as a result of the demise in tattooing, while mat weaving (and the knowledge of the motif's meaning) continued.

77 Krämer: *kabinout.* According to Krämer (1904) it means "bottom of rainwater". According to Abo *et al.* (1976:50) *dānnin wōt* simply means rainwater. The navel itself is called *bwije.*

78 Erdland 1906:125: *Kabinwut.* Not seen by Hasebe (1932). The *dānnin wōt* is a rare motif, and has so far only be recorded in two instances; one being on the chest of a young chief from Jaluit, who most likely is Kabua the Great, and one on a drawing made by Choris (1822) on occasion of Kōtzebue's stay on Wotje or Utirik.

79 Krämer: *äo.*

80 Krämer: *äodalab.*

81 Krämer: *äoiririk.* The rope belt was called *idik* (Krämer: *irik*). Hasebe (1932) contends that Krämer's identification is incorrect and that according to Erdland's dictionary "band is *irok*, and *irik*, *irikrik* means to waver [zigzag?]". For ethnographic specimens of such belts see Krämer & Nevermann 1938:123.

82 Krämer: *allonga; longa* "Entenmuschel" "Duck's Foot" (*Lepas anasiferera*) Krämer: *longai*; Erdland: *longai, lonä*; Grösser: *longe.* Hasebe: *elonga.* E.Krämer: *eallonga*; *ällonga.* Krämer & Nevermann (1938:302) list it as *longe* in their list of shellfish names. These shells have a long foot with which they attach themselves to floating objects. Hanging down they syphon the water for nutrients. Such shells can be frequently found attached to driftwood and other drift objects which have floated in, as well as on the bottom of vessels which have been in the water for a long time. See Erdland (1914:20) for the meaning of the motif.

Duck's foot shell tattoos were attached to the "canoe", *i.e.* the upper chest triangle.

This motif is also used in the weaving of clothing/dress mats (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:161) and has been seen on mats from Mile and Majuro (*Ibid.).*

83 Erdland: *ibeirro*; Erdland (1914:242) mentions this motif in a folk tale of two young men who have incomplete tattooes. The etymology of the terms is unclear. *ibeb* means a series of waves (Abo *et al.* 1976:69).

84 Krämer (1904:17): *djälili.*

85 Hasebe: *ilap*; *big* [= large tattoo motif]. The term *elap* seems more likely to refer to the ornament field than to the motif. The name as used here is reconstructed from mat weaving, which knows a motif which resembles this tattoo motif. It is called *jikin uwe* (Krämer: *djikinuä;* E.Krämer: *djigenuuwe*; Erdland: *jigin uwe*) or "starway, staircase, rat ladder" (Abo *et al.* 1976:104). In the context of discussing sayings, Erdland mentions that *in uwe* means a reef channel through which fishes swim down the slopes from a reef platform (Erdland 1914:156), with the connotation of "lowly" or lower status.

86 Krämer: *nge*; Erdland: *ke*; Dolphin; Senfft: *ge.* When Krämer mentioned to his informants that the motif had little in common with a dolphin, his informants could not explain the relationship (Krämer 1904:25).

87 The dolphin is identified as *Delphinus roseiventris* in Abo *et al.* (1976:138). According to Reese (1987:333-335), the Marshallese distinguish two dolphin species, a small one swimming in large groups, called *ke*, which is very likely to be the spinner dolphin (*Stenella longirostris*), and a large one, swimming in small groups called *rak* or *raj.* Abo *et al.* (1976:344) identify *Coryphoena hippurus* as a dolphin termed *koko.*

88 Krämer: *ninegeinegom*, possibly from *ine* = stick, *geine* = tool, utensil, *gomegom* = picking of breadfruit (Krämer 1905); According to Krämer (1904:17) identical in appearance with the motif *djälili. kein kōm*—stick for picking breadfruit (Abo *et al.* 1976).

89 Krämer: *navirong; gillinbüll* According to Abo *et al.* (1976:44) *bül* is a boxfish (*Ostracion cubicus*, Family OSTRACIIDAE). It is also mentioned in the list of fish names in Krämer & Nevermann (1938:298), who (following Erdland 1906) list it as *bil* and identify it as *Ostracion quadricornis.* The skin of several boxfish species is spotted with semi-rectangular motifs (Myers 1989:Plates 140-142).

90 Erdland: *kärikrik.* "Schindelsparren". Abo *et al.* 1976:137 describe *kadikdik* as a construction term for the frame of a

house, while Erdland (1914) describes ***kärikrik*** as a tile slat for the roof. Krämer & Nevermann (1938) mention ***kerikerik*** as the same term (or ***kedillemak*** or the Ratak Chain). (see Spennemann 1992b for terminological explanations).

The difference between the submotifs 23b and 23c is the fact that the vertical lines in 23c are thicker than in 23b and consist of only one vertical stroke instead of two. In addition the vertical lines are joined from one horizontal band to the next. However, in view of the natural pigment migration, which occurs over time it is well possible that motif 23c is only a natural development from 23b. Unfortunatley no proper quantititave data are present to show that 23c is more common among (physically) older people.

91 Krämer: ***denemenegarobüd*** cloud motif (Erdland: *Karo* = cloud; Grösser: *köro* = cloud). ***kōdo***—cloud (Abo *et al.*1976).

92 A similar vertical connection exists in the ***lijjā*** motif (3b).

93 Name phonetically transcribed from Krämer's and Hasebe's renderings, meaning unclear. Krämer: ***lidje***. According to Hasebe (1932) ***lije*** (***lidje, lidge***) is an ornament field at the side of the chest.

The interpretation of the German transcription, especially in the absence of a recorded meaning is somewhat complicated. The modern Marshallese language has no parallel word. The closest to it could be ***lijā***, which stands for "Miss, Gal, Lass" and is usually used with demonstratives ("over there" &c.; Abo *et al.* 1976:178), but this interpretation makes little sense. Other options would be ***lije***—"to rinse bait" (*ibid.* 179); ***lijjib***—"blunt" (*ibid.*); or even ***lwüj*** which means "mallet" or "hammer" (*ibid.* 197). None of which would make too much sense in view of the motif's appearance.

It is possible that the oval shaped oblique strokes of this motif, as well as of motifs 22a, 26a and 26b were also scar tattooing as opposed to pigment tattooing.

94 Krämer: ***lodj*** (Type of fish). The identification of the fish is somewhat problematic as there are two fish species which bear similar names. In the list of identified fish names in Krämer & Nevermann (1938:298), such a fish is not listed at all, but occurs in the list of unidentified animals (*ibid.* 301). In the modern dictionary (Abo *et al.* 1976:193-194) the fishes ***looj*** and ***louj*** are listed. The ***looj*** is the bonito (***Euthunnus alleteratus***, Family THUNNIDAE), while the ***louj*** is only identified as "a fish with long fins".

The bonito, also called false albacore or little tunny, is a common shoaling fish of inshore coastal waters and coral reefs, where patches of churned-up water mark its feeding on blue sprats, herrings and pilchards (Grant 1985:639). It has three

marked vertical fins (first and second dorsal fin, caudal fin) which stand out far and well from the otherwise very straight-lined body.

95 Krämer: *longejok*; Erdland: *lonjak*; *loñejok* Erdland (1906:150): type of a chest tattoo in general Krämer: chiefly marker. Hasebe: *rongejok*, *longejak*; *longedjak*. According to Hasebe's informant a chiefly tattoo motif.

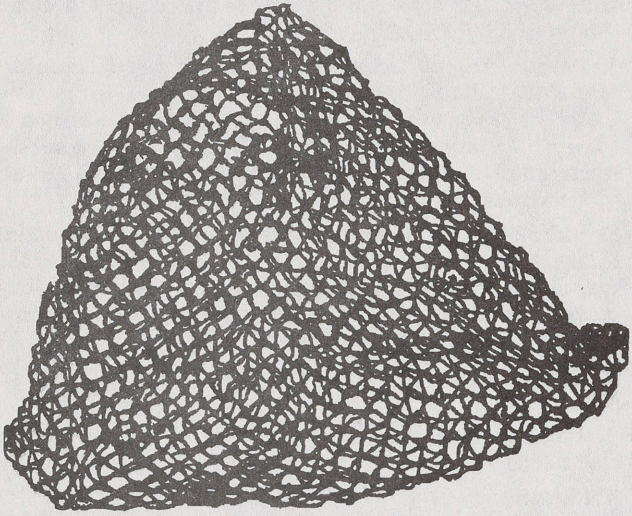
Spelling of motif term after A.Capelle. The entomology of this term is somewhat unclear. The word *loñtak* is a term for "a foundation, a base, a lever a roller for launching canoes, something that is put under something else to protect, lift or support it" (Abo *et al.* 1976:193).

96 Erdland 1906:92; 1914:20. "Mar böobudi". For the recontruction of the modern spelling the phonetic equivalent of the German spelling was used. It is possible that the oval shaped oblique strokes of this motif, as well as of motifs 3, 26a and 26b were also scar tattooing as opposed to pigment tattooing.

97 This interpretation does not follow that given by Krämer (1904) as well as Erdland's dictionary (1906). According to Krämer the motif means "pearls or gems", also a "neck ornament". Krämer: *marub* Pearls, gems. Erdland: *marö* = neck ornament.

However, the modern dictionary does not contain anything close to the transcriptions provided by the Germans. The closest is *marmar* "necklace" (Abo *et al.* 1976:213), which is phonetically far removed from Krämer's *marub*. Then there is *marō-* which means "necklace of". The word thus may have been *marōb* meaning necklace of the the chest (where *ob* is the chest). Other options are *mādo* an archaic word for a sea crab (*ibid.* 200; not listed in Krämer & Nevermann's [1938:294ff.] list of animal names), and especially *mādo* (pronounced *mero*), a variant form of *do*. *do*, however, is the term for a large-meshed, bag-shaped net to wash arrowroot or to soak breadfruit. Given the appearance of the motif, the latter seems more likely.

The motif is located on the shoulders and thus the interpretation as "Necklace" does not bear out.



Large-meshed netbag to wash arrowroot in the lagoon.

98 Krämer: *maninginmag; gienmag* Fish teeth, probably from *nin* = teeth and *mak* species of the SCOMBRIDAE (Krämer 1904). The identification of the fish is somewhat problematic in view of Krämer's initial identification as one of the Scombrids (tunas and mackerels). In the list of fish names in Krämer & Nevermann (1938:299), the fish is called *mak* which is also called *tak* and is identified as belonging to the family BELONIDAE (needlefishes), while it is listed as mak (*Strongylura marina*) in the modern dictionary (Abo *et al.* 1976:212). The motif does resemble the teeth arrangement of needlefishes and thus an identification with *Strongylura incisus* or reef needlefish, which is known for its numerous teeth, is likely. Entomology: *ñii* -tooth of *mak*—needlefish; (*ñii* is a modern contraction of ñi–tooth and *in*–of; from [construct particle]. Thus it is likely that Krämer would have heard it as *ningin*).

Needlefishes have extremely elongated jaws, full of needle-like teeth (hence the name), and slender silvery bodies. All fish lack spines. Needlefishes are surface dwelling, predating on small fish and are known to be on inshore reefs (Myers 1989:70).

In Marshallese traditions the needlefish features as an arrogant fish boasting its swimming skills, and finally succumbing to the cunning and family ties of a lowly hermit crab (cf. Downing *et al.* 1992:151 ff.)

99 Erdland (1906:90) *nin bōgō*; Erdland (1914): *bügo*. In the list of fish names in Krämer & Nevermann (1938:297), the shark is

called *beggo* and *bogo*, while it is *pako* in the modern dictionary (Abo *et al.* 1976:233).

100 Krämer: *merrimidji man. Pādālijmaan* is a grass, according to Abo *et al.* (1986:235) either *Fimbrystilis atollensis* St. John, or *Eleocharis geniculata* (L.), both plants which are common in the Marshall Islands and are part of a lagoonal vegetation area, where human impact has cleared or altered the original coastal fringe vegetation.

In addition, there is another, though more remote, option. In Krämer and Nevermann's listing of animal names (1938:301) they list a sea bird name, as of then unidentified to species: *meni möuj*. The same is listed in Abo *et al.* (1976: 201) as *Mānnimouj* and described as a white seagull.

101 Krämer: *ranglongejok*; Erdland: chest tattoo Krämer: chiefly marker.

102 Krämer: *dogorak; togerak, tokorak*, in the text of a tattooing chant also called *bigorrau*. Erdland 1906:173 (cross-tattoo).

103 Krämer: *uadjir, uadir, oadir*, Erdland (1906:177): *wajir*. The entomology of this name in the German transcription is not clear beyond doubt. *wüj* is a term for uprooting and weeding, as well as for lightweight drift material (cork, balsa wood; Abo *et al.* 1976:286) and *wüjooj* or *ujooj* is the generic Marshallese term for any kind of grass (*ibid.* 286).

104 Krämer: *uori; uorik*; E.Krämer: *orik; uorik*; Erdland: *wure* = to and fro movement of a boat. For the recontruction of the modern spelling the phonetic equivalent of the German spelling was used. This motif is also used in the weaving of clothing/dress mats (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:161) and has been seen on mats from Rongelap and Majuro. Krämer & Nevermann (1938:162) mention that this motif, as a mat motif, was seen as "new" and only recently invented at the beginning of this century. The motif invention was credited to the wife of one of Kabua's relatives. It is unclear whether the name initially stemmed from tattooing and was transferred to mat weaving, or whether the invented mat weaving motif was transferred to the medium of skin.

The wake of a canoe is listed in the modern dictionary as *Aod* or *aode* in Abo *et al.* (1986;18). *Wadid*, not contained in the dictionary has the meaning of "to swerve", "to roll (as in the movement of a boat/ship)" according to A. Capelle.

105 Hasebe 1932. Reconstructed term, as the meaning of the motif is preserved in the literature, but not the term itself. According to Hasebe, who compares it with tattoo motifs from Pohnpei and argues for an introduction from there, thus this motif is not traditionally Marshallese.

106 According to Krämer (1904:23) this is a misrepresentation (at first casual sight) of what is in fact motif No. 23a, but Hasebe (1932) mentions that he saw this very motif on the back of a fellow called "Ranchuru" of Arno Atoll.

107 It is possible—though not very likely— that the oval-shaped part of the motif was scar tattooing rather than a pigment tattoo.

108 See previous footnote.

109 Krämer & Nevermann (1938:162) mention that Marshallese mat weaving had taken over and incorporated modern European motifs, among them the colours of playing cards. It is thus possible that this motif may stem from this source.

110 Erdland: *kälablab*. Erdland (1906:58; 129) uses the term to describe a chest tattoo in general and does not differentiate between the motif and the ornament field the motif was used in.

111 Krämer: *kebogorogo*. Reconstructed term, as the meaning of the motif is preserved in the literature, but not the term itself. Probably "To cover the torso", indicating a motif used for a boundary line (From: *kā*—trunk, torso; *kōborōk*—to be covered; Abo *et al.* 1976:36; 136).

112 Krämer (1905): *kinebo*. In the absence of a drawing of the motif, as well as of further informaton, Krämer's *kinebo* is a motif hard to identifiy. The closest word the modern Marshallese language knows is *kinbo* (pronounced "kin-e-bo"), which stands for the red spot tang fish (*Acanthurus achilles*, Abo *et al.* 1976:145), a common fish on the oceanward reefs of the Marshall Islands (see Myers 1989:244 for morphological and behavioural details). Other readings of the name could be *kinbüt*—"not ripe" (of breadfruit; *ibid.)*. A more likley interpretation, however, could be *kinejo* from *kinej*—scar and *eo*—tattoo (Abo *et al.* 1976:64; 145).

113 Hasebe: *nenegat*. Name phonetically transcribed from Hasebe's rendering, meaning unclear. Possibly "side of the breast" (from *ninnin*—breast,—*kat*—side of a person; Abo *et al.* 1976:134; 224).

114 Erdland 1914:21.

115 Erdland 1914:21.

116 Chamisso 1986:263.

117 Finsch 1893:428.

118 Hambruch & Eilers 1936.

119 Kubary 1887:75.

120 Chamisso 1986:353.

121 Chamisso 1986:263

122 Hasebe 1932.

123 Hasebe explained his arm and leg-binding theory in greater detail in a separate paper (Hasebe 1930; not seen).

An issue to be mentioned is that the Marshall Islands term for binding with rope is *eoeo*, (or *eo*), such as the lashing of a canoe (Abo *et al.* 1976:64; Alessio 1990:55).

124 Cf. Spennemann 1992a.

125 Such as the "*Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung*," the "*Deustches Kolonialblatt*" or the "*Die Gartenlaube.*"

126 See also comments by Krämer on the change in mat weaving ornaments and the incorporation modern introduced motifs, such as the colour of playing cards (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:162).

127 Hasebe 1932.

128 See also section "The Frequency of tattooing."

129 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:94.

130 This fits in well with other differentiations between the two chains, such as different dialects (Bender 1963) and the lack of inter-chain communication except for the area of the southern Marshalls.

131 Erdland 1914:342-345.

132 There is some limited correlation with the mat weaving. For example the totem of the Errübra (Krämer: *Larrebra*) of Namorik is the *kalo* bird, which Erdland identifies with the "Rotgans' (*Branta canadensis; cf.* Pratt *et al.* 1987:95-97). This *kalo* is a motif in mat weaving (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:161).

133 Kaeppler 1972; Krämer 1904; Krämer & Nevermann 1938.

134 See list of motifs in Krämer & Nevermann 1938:161-162.

135 Explanations Pers. Comm. A. Capelle, Alele Museum.

136 Kotzebue 1821; Finsch 1893:428; Erdland 1914:21.

137 On the whole, black and white photography, the only photographic means available at the time, was not able to bring about the colour difference between the blue-black of the tattoo and the medium-brown of the skin colour of the Marshallese.—Schneider (1891:47), for example, depicts a Marshallese family. One of them is a heavily tattooed young adult male, but the photograph is too unclear to make out details.

138 Finsch 1893:428.

139 Chamisson 1986.

140 Krämer (1906:156): *menilou*; Erdland: *meniloub*, translated by Krämer as *men in laub* = thing of the chest. Hasebe: *mennilaub*

[the chest's thing"].(Krämer 1904; 1906:405).—In the modern dictionary, *men* is the chest, *in* of; from [construct particle]; and *ob* is the chest (Abo *et al.* 1976:205; 229). Contracted to one word this would be *meninob*, without an "l" in it. It seems unlikely that Erdland, Krämer and Hasebe should have heard an "l" where there was none. Thus, another reading would be *menin leob*, where *menin le-* is a gift (with the directional particle) and *ob* is the chest, thus representing something like "gift to the chest".

141 Erdland 1914:20.—Marshallese canoes could reach up to 100 feet in overall length and were capable of transporting up to 40 people. The traditional canoe building in the Marshall Islands distinguishes three major canoe types based on their size and function, *walap, tipnol* and *korkor*.

The *walap*, a large sailing canoe, reaching up to 30m in length and able to carry up to 50 people and food supplies. These canoes served mainly for inter-atoll voyaging. The *tipnol*, a mid-sized sailing canoe, capable of carrying up to a dozen persons. Built for travel and fishing in the lagoons but also short and medium distance voyaging over open water and fishing in the ocean. The *korkor*, a small rowing canoe, sometimes equipped with a sail, designed to carry up to three people. The *korkor* was used solely for fishing and transportation in the protected waters of the lagoons. On calm days it is also used for fishing on the oceanside reefs. Traditionally, within these three types of canoes, there are five recognized designs, the main difference of which is the bottom the profile of the main hull (*wa*), having a bearing on the canoes speed and cargo-carrying capacity. These designs are: *Mwijitbok, Taburbur, Malmel, Tojeik* and *Jekad*.

The canoes were made entirely from locally available materials, the main requirement being breadfruit (*Artocarpus* spp.) or a driftlog for hull, and hull parts which have been sewn onto the hull to heighten the boards. A large outrigger float, also of breadfruit, is placed on one side of the hull. An assortment of other trees was used for the remaining parts. (Alessio 1989; 1990; 1991; Alexander 1902; Browning 1972; Erdland 1914; Finsch 1887; Hambruch 1912; Hernsheim 1887; Hornell 1936; Jenkins 1946; Krämer 1905; Krämer & Nevermann 1938; Wright 1948).

142 Krämer: *dedd*; Grösser: *titt*. Hasebe: *dut, tutu, dedd* [nipple] encompases the entire lower chest area including the nipples. (Krämer 1904; 1906:405). *ittüt* (*tütüt* dialect)—nipple (Abo *et al.* 1976:79).

143 According to Erdland (1914:20) these are "vom Land ablaufended Dünungen," i.e. ocean waves which have been re-

flected or refracted from land. In Marshallese navigation, these waves are called *joor in okme.*

For Marshallese wave pattern navigation, see Browning 1972; Bryan 1964; Davenport 1960; 1964; deBrum 1962; Erdland 1914; Goodenough 1951; Hager 1886; Hambruch 1912; Hines 1952; Joyce 1908; Krämer 1905; 1906; Krämer & Nevermann 1938; Laubenfels 1950a; 1950b; Lewis 1972; Playdon 1967; Schück 1902;Winkler 1899a; 1899b.

144 Krämer: 1904 *gidju;* Erdland 1906: *kiju;* Hasebe 1932: *gaju, gachu.* According to Hasebe's informants *gaju* is not the general term for "mast", but only refers to the vertical boundary lines of the vertical central ornament field *below* the sternum. Hasebe (1932) points out that tattoo in Yapese is called *gachau,* and that the Marshallese term *gaju* may be a loan term. (Erdland 1914:20; Krämer 1904; 1906:405). The modern dictionary provides two spelling of the word "mast". In the Ralik Chain it is called *kiju* (Abo *et al.* 1976:143), while in the Ratak Chain it is called *kaju* (*ibid.* 128).

145 Krämer: *äukad;* Hasebe: *äugat, ängat, äukad.* Hasebe explains it from *äo* [tattoo] *kadu* [side]. *eo-* tattoo; *kat* side (Abo *et al.* 1976:64; 134).

146 According to *irooj* Raigiren of Majuro, this side tattoo is called *lije,* which corresponds with Krämer's *lidge,* a term Krämer identifies for a tattoo motif, a zigzag line.

147 Krämer: *dene meme garobüd.* Erdland 1914:20.

148 Hasebe: *ingijar.*

149 Based on Hasebe's informant from Kwajalein Atoll (Radju, "Ladju"?).

150 Based on information by *Irooj* Raigiren of Majuro Atoll.

151 Hasebe: *aber,* which means bottom of a box or boundary. Also used to define the border on a men's back tattoo.—Hasebe's collection of data occurred too late to give too much weight to this discrepancy. It may reflect a regioanl variation in terminology between the Ralik and the Ratak Chain (for dialect variation see Bender 1963), but may also simply be the result of incomplete information in the 1930s or simple misunderstandings of the differences between motifs and ornament fields.

152 Krämer 1904: *vaurog, waurok;* Erdland (1906:178): *wauro;k* Hasebe 1932: *wourok, waurok, vaurog.*Abo *et al.* (1976:37): *borōk*—to cap it off, to cover it. (transitive form of *Boorok).*

153 After Krämer 1904, the tattoo is possibly that of Kabua "the Great". Kabua was the *irooj laplap* of the Ralik Chain. He died on 4 July 1910 and is interred at the irooj cemetery at Bouj, Alinglaplap Atoll (cf. Spennemann 1992c:I145).

154 After Krämer 1904.

155 Krämer: *ooa, oa*; Erdland (1906:58; 179): *wo o* (Neck tattoo). Hasebe: *wongängäni, wongnienie(a)ni*. Krämer 1904; 1906:405.

156 Erdland 1914:20.

157 Hasebe 1932.

158 After Hasebe 1932.

159 According to informants to Hasebe this border is either called *elonga* or *aber*. The term *aber* or *abär*, as reported by Hasebe, is a Marshallese term (*apar*) for the border of a mat or a road (Abo *et al.* 1976). For the *apar* in mat weaving see discussion in Krämer & Nevermann (1938:155 footnote). *apar* is also used as a term to define a line separating two ornament fields on the men's chest tattoo.

160 Krämer: äodalap; a'odalap; Erdland: äodalap (tattoo of the shoulderblade according to Erdland [1906:83];. Hasebe: äutalap. Krämer 1904; 1906:405.

The literal translation of the name for this ornament field would be: "tattoo of the large sanitary napkin" (*eo* tattoo, *te* sanitary napkin, *lap* large). *Telap* is an island on Majuro Atoll, with the meaning of "large sanitary napkin" (Abo *et al.* 1986: 580). Also pers. comm. A.Capelle. In the context that this ornament field is said to represent the sea (Erdland 1914:20) this text interpretation makes little sense.—According to Krämer 1904 the word "Dalap" means "large, strong, powerful."

161 Krämer 1904.

162 Krämer: *djur*. Krämer 1904; 1906:405. In view of the general similarities of tattoing motifs with motifs occuring in mat weaving it is worth noting that mat weaving has a motif *jurōn-okme* (Krämer: *djur in okme*), which represents a forked post to rest canoes on land and above ground (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:161; also: pers. comm. A.Capelle).

Another interpretation sees it as *joor in okme*, which is a term from the Marshallese navigation which describes waves created by interference of the weaker westward swells with the stronger eastward swells. These waves run at 45° angles back'out to sea in a northeasterly and southeasterly direction.

163 Krämer: *djur en rilib. joor in dilep* = *joor*—post; *in*—of, from; *dilep*—bakbone, spine. It is worth noting that there is also a mat weaving motif called *dilep* (Krämer: *dil'lep*; interpreted as *dildil elap*, large *dildil* [Krämer & Nevermann 1938:161], wherein *tiltil* stands for "embroidery; spotted; dotted" [Abo *et al.* 1976).

164 Krämer: *djur en lemölik*. According to A.Capelle *joor in lemolik* allows two interpretations. Either as "Post of 'Mister Forbidden Oceanside'" (*joor*—post *in*—of, from, for (construct particle), *le*—Sir, Mister (vocative masculine singular), *mo* —taboo, forbidden, restricted to chiefs, *lik*—oceanside); or as "Post 'Mister oceanside of the house'" (*joor*—post *in*—of, from, for (construct particle), *le*—Sir, Mister (vocative masciline singular), *mo* —house, building (possesive classifier); *lik*—oceanside). The latter interpretation would be well in keeping with the dichotomy of lagoonside and oceanside maintained in traditional Marshallese land tenure. This dichotomy is also reflected in the spatial layout of the people attending the tattooing ceremony

165 Krämer: *djur en lämar*. According to A.Capelle *joor in lemoar* is in its meaning clearly juxtaposed to the above vertical group, *joor in lemolik*. As above, *joor in lemoar* allows two interpretations. Either as "Post of 'Mister Forbidden Lagoonside'" (*joor*—post *in*—of, from, for (construct particle), *le*—Sir, Mister (vocative masculine singular), *mo* —taboo, forbidden, restricted to chiefs, *ar*—lagoonside); ; or as "Post 'Mister lagoonside of the house'" (*joor*—post *in*—of, from, for (construct particle), *le*—Sir, Mister (vocative masciline singular), *mo* —house, building (possesive classifier); *ar*—lagoonside).

166 Erdland 1914:20.

167 *joor in dilep* is a term for a location where the intersections of the small crosswaves (*dilep*) point in straight line ("post" *joor*) to the island. The other two units then, could be re-read as *joor in jimolik* and *joor in jimear*.

168 For the terms see references given in footnote 143.

169 Krämer: *dogorak*; Grösser: *tokorak*; Erdland: *togerak, dogorak* Hasebe: *tokorak*.

170 For this reason Krämer terms this ornament field "*Feuerhakenfläche*", or "firehook area" (Krämer 1904; 1906:405.; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:93). The fire hook is necessary to push aside the hot stones when cooking in the earth-oven (*um*).

171 After Krämer 1904: 22 figure 28. For a similar back tattoo, see Photograph No. 1976.386.06, Photo Collection of the Bernice P.Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii.

172 After Hasebe 1932.

173 Krämer 1904; Erdland 1914:20; Hernsheim 1887.

174 Krämer: *äodenburu*. Hasebe: *äodenburu* (from *äo* [tattoo] *en* [of] *buru* [neck]). According to Erdland's dictionary (1906:58; 179)

the neck tattoo is called *woo*, which according to Krämer is a term for the back triangle

175 The Adam's apple was left free, as it is an area where tattooig would be very painful. In addition, given the type of traditional tattooing with mallet and chisel, permanent damage could be inflicted to the respiratory system if the area would be struck too hard.—The story about the father attempting to kill his son during the tatooing ceremony needs to be seen in this context (see Mitchell 1973:168-170).

176 Erdland 1914:20.

177 Krämer (1904): *ioumedj*; Erdland (1906): *äumej, äomej*; Steinbach: *eumedj*. Hasebe: *aumej, iomej, enmej* (from *äo* [tattoo] and *meju* [face]).

178 Krämer 1904; Erdland 1914:20.

179 deBrum Photo collection, Alele Museum Neg. No. J713.

180 Drawn after a photographs of *irooj* Moses (Hasebe).

181 Wood 1875:204. Observed on Mile and Nadididk (Knox) Atolls in the southern Ratak Chain.

182 After Hasebe 1932.

183 Krämer: *kanung*.

184 "Armbands" according to Erdland 1914:20. See also Richard (1957a: opposite page 341) for a post-World War II picture of a Marshallese man from Arno with a double upper-arm tattoo.

185 Hasebe was given two names by two informants, a Nakapu and a Radju, both from Kwajalein Atoll: *luko* (lukwo) and *rojaniba* (rojañpe). The latter, *rojañpe* (Erdland: *rojenba*), is strictly speaking a feather bunch attached to the upper arm and has the general meaning of *arm ornament*. The former, *lukwo* (Erdland: *lugo*).

186 Erdland (1906:180): *wunne* (thigh tattoo).

187 Krämer 1904; Hasebe 1932; Kubary 1887:95.

188 Kubary 1887:95; Erdland 1914:20.

189 Krämer: *inebüllebüll*; Erdland: *inbuilbuil*.

190 Hernsheim 1880; Krämer 1904; Kubary 1887:95.

191 After Hernsheim 1880.

192 Krämer: *doadu*.

193 Krämer saw it only on the back of *irooj laplap*.Kabua († 4 July 1910). Krämer 1904:22 fig 28; 27. This type of tattoo was not seen by Hasebe in 1932.

194 Krämer 1906:409

195 See for example drawing of a tattooed Marshallese man in Kubary (1887:95) or photograph of Kabua "the Great" exhibited in the Alele Museum.

196 Erdland 1914:21.

197 Anonymous 1886.

198 Chamisso 1986:275.

199 Erdland 1914:21.

200 Hasebe (1932) depicts and mentions such tattoos. He states that the tattoo is that of an, at the time, about 60-year old woman born on Kwajalein Atoll, named Richieiakoe, who on a trip to the Ratak Chain had been forcibly tattooed there.

201 The lines are in fact longer at the neck to take into account the sloping shape of the shoulder. This has been omitted in this drawing to show the complete motif.

202 Women's tattoos, having a larger amount of pigment used, stand out much better in photographs than men's tattoos.

203 Compiled from: Choris 1822; Brandeis 1908; Hasebe 1932; de-Brum photos; Mason Photos; Hernsheim 1880. Photo U.S. National archives, Still Photo Branch Record Group 80G-294431.

204 Hasebe: *auirikrik*. Also given is the spelling *euiririku*.

205 Hernsheim 1880:87.

206 Hernsheim 1880; Krämer 1904; Hasebe 1932.

207 For another thigh tattoo see below.

208 Hernsheim 1880; Finsch 1893:429; Krämer 1904; Erdland 1914:21; Hasebe 1932.

209 Krämer: *äo in berenbä*. Hasebe: *bueriniba*, which he, using Erdlands (1906) dictionary, interprets as back of the hand, using *buer* [shell of a turtle] *in* [posseiveive article] *ba* [hand or hand shake]) based on information by a Marshallese from Kwajalein.

210 Krämer 1938:95 (based on drawings supplied by his wife, E.Krämer); Erdland 1914:21.

211 Erdland 1906:201-203; also Chambers 1972:182-183.

212 Krämer: *äo in arin*.

213 Erdland 1914:21.

214 The only ring ornaments the Marshallese had at their disposal were armrings (Krämer & Nevermann 1938) and they were thus very interested in obtaining European gold and silver rings. In fact, the Marshallese became skilled craftsmen in manufacturing finger-rings from bent and beaten gold coins.

215 Krämer: ***buiren in lebulin.*** Sign of *Lōbōllōñ*, which *Lōbōllōñ* invented as a past time (Erdland 1914:21). Erdland's dictionary (1906:58) refers to the tattoo as "thigh tattoo—of a woman". This may well be an euphemism for a *mons veneris* tattoo.

216 Erdland 1914:21.

217 Cf. Kubary 1887.

218 Krämer/Senfft: ***kinaidj, gorar.*** Krämer 1904:21; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:91, quoting A.Brandeis

219 Krämer 1904: Plate IV.

220 Finsch 1894; Herz 1899:165.

221 See footnote 341.

222 Krämer 1904: 17-19; Finsch 1893:430; 1914:143.

223 Krämer: ***ngi; ngie; nie*** Finsch: ***ngnie;*** Grösser: ***ngi. ñi***—tooth; fang (Abo *et al.* 1976:228). Added with a possessive classifier, *ñii-* means the tooth of a person or eating utensil. On the other hand, in modern Marshallese, the tooth of a comb is called *tōōl* (*ibid.* 268).

224 Krämer: ***djuro. juro***—handle, for a knife, shovel or tool (Abo *et al.* 1976:121).

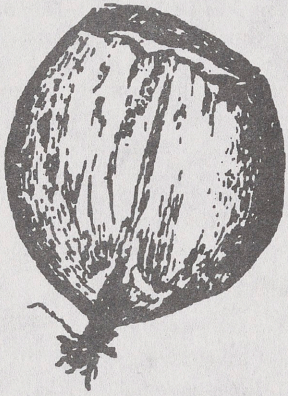
225 Erdland (1906:164): ***nin wadir;*** Krämer: ***nuadjir.*** See also the tattooing motif ***wajid*** (motif no. 19) which consists of a single dot.

226 Erdland (1906:164): ***nin burunar, nin börumak;*** Krämer: ***ngi gio, ngi buromug.***

227 Krämer: ***djubb;*** Finsch: ***dschib;*** St-G: ***jib;*** Erdland (1906:119): ***jiob***

228 Finsch 1893:430; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:91-92.

229 Finsch 1893:430. —Coconut shells are the most common and easily manufacturable containers in the Marshall islands. Such shells have been used as drinking cups, and storage containers for water, arrowroot and the like.



A coconut shell serving as a trade container for arrowroot starch from Rongelap (1910).(After Krämer & Nevermann 1938).

230 Krämer: *ar in äo.*

231 Krämer: *ar in djedje.*

232 Krämer: *mamodj; mamudj*; Finsch: *mommud*; Grösser: *mamij; momij*; Erdland (1906:153): *mamuij; mamij.* This is in contrast to soot, which was called *adiniee* (Erdland 1906:77).

233 Krämer 1904:18; Finsch 1893:430.—Elsewhere in the Pacific the commonly used material were the nuts of *Callophyllum* (sonsorol, Carolines: Kubary 1895:84—the plant occurs in the Marshall Islands in abundance [local name: *lukwej*]).

234 Grösser 1895:475.

235 Kaeppler 1972.

236 Abo *et al.* 1976:476.

237 Erdland 1906:155.

238 Erdland 1914:262.

239 Krämer: *jeje*; Grösser: *dede*; Erdland: *jeje.*

240 Krämer: *Tachypetes aquila* (old name for *Fregata minor*) The Great Frigate bird (*Fregata minor*) occurs in the Marshall Islands as does the lesser Frigate bird (*Fregata ariel*, both Family Fregatidae; *cf.* Amerson 1969). Both are called *ak* in Marshallese.

There seems to be no preference for a specific bird, as a number of bird species have been mentioned by the various sources: *Tachypetes aquila* (Krämer 1906 = *Fregata minor; F.ariel*; Lesser Frigatebird; Greater Frigatebird; Pratt *et al.* 1987:84; *Totanus melaneucus* (= *Tringa melaneucus*, "Greater yellowlegs"; *ibid.*:141).

241 Krämer 1904:18; 1906:408; Hernsheim 1887.

242 The shaft only, with the barbs removed (Finsch 1893:430). Steinbach (1895:475) also mentions that the red tail feather of a tropic bird is used as the *jeje*—In the Marshall Islands there occurs the red-billed tropic bird (*Phaeton aetherus*), red-tailed tropic bird (*P. rubricauda*) or the white-tailed tropic bird (*P. lepturus*, all Family PHAETONIDAE; *cf.* Amerson 1969). The latter is the most likely candidate.

243 Krämer: *ieb*, made from coconut leaves with handles (Krämer: *djelli*, *bannenur*. *iep*—basket (Abo *et al.* 1976:70); *jāli*—kind of basket (*ibid.*:88); *banonoor*—small basket with two handles made from coconut fronds (*ibid.*29).

244 Krämer: *buninemid*. There is no term for such a mat (*cf.* Abo *et al.* 1976:402). The entomology of Krämer's *buninemid* could be as follows: *ñi*—tattooing chisel; *emōj*—finished.

Another option "lost-the-virginity-and-is-finished" from: *buñ* to loose one's virginity; *im*—and; *emōj*—finished.

245 Krämer & Nevermann depict such a mat (1938:Plate 11).

246 Finsch (1893:430): *kadschala*.

247 Erdland (1906:116): *jiburen korar*. Abo *et al.* 1976:111 *Jjibur* "Embrace while sleeping"; *en* directional particle; *kōrā* - woman. "Mats that embrace you like a woman."

248 Steinbach 1895:475; Lesser Frigate bird (*Fregata ariel*) or great frigate bird (*Fregata minor*).

249 Finsch 1893:430.

250 Heine & Anderson 1971; Spennemann 1991.

251 Seen breeding and eggs collected by Peale and Wilkes in 1840 (Cassin 1858; Peale 1848; Pickering 1879).

252 In their section on bone tool manufacture, Krämer & Nevermann (1938:146) mention that human bones were used to make tools, but do not specify for which tool they were used. It appears that bones from dead people were utilised, rather than people who were specifically killed for that purpose.

253 In *Kiribati* human bones were used for tatooing chisels in the ethnographic past (Grimble 1972).

In *Tonga* tattooing chisels of human bone have been collected by the early European visitors, such as Captain J.Cook (Kaeppler 1978:212 five combs hafted in a handle). They have turned up in archaeological contexts, possibly dating to the 5th century B.C. (Poulsen 1987:I207-208; II 185 Plate 68, 14-17; isolated tattooing chisels without the handle which has rotted away).

Similar tattooing needles, apparently also of human bone, stem form the *Society Islands*, both from archaeological (Ermory 1979:203) and ethnographical contexts (Kaeppler 1978:2134-

135) and from ethnographic contexts in *Samoa* (Edge-Partington 1895:76,3+4; Joest 1887:68).

Archaeological specimens of tattooing chisels have been found in the *Marquesas* (Davidson 1984:90 fig 66f-g; Sinoto 1966:figure 4b) where they ethnographically commonly consisted of human bones ('revenge bones') or bird bones, depending on the chisel width required (Brouwer 1972:105). In ethnographic contexts wing bones of tropic birds have been used (Joest 1887:68).

In *New Zealand*, where also a great tattooing tradition existed, tattooing chisels are known from a variety of archaeological (Davidson 1984:90-92) and ethnographical (Barrow 1978) contexts. Tattooing was very wide spread with a number of complex motifs (Davidson 1984:88-89).

254 Finsch 1893:430.

255 Krämer: *Enübing* (Krämer 1904: 1906).

Åni-piñ also possessesed a very large, or "giant" as Krämer put it, *Hernandia sonora* tree (*Pinpin*) standing by itself. It is likely that this tree in fact gave the island its name, and that this tree in the pre-European days was not only inhabited by spirits (*ekjab*) but also connected with the seat of power.

256 Krämer 1904:14.

257 Erdland 1914:360.

258 For the cemetery see Spennemann 1992c:I145. A Japanese trading station is directly next to the sites (Spennemann 1992d).

259 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:97.

260 See below; *katak*— "catch fire; offer sacrifice, sacrifice, incantation" (Abo *et al.* 1976:135).

261 Choris 1822.

262 Kotzebue 1821, quoted after Krämer & Nevermann 1938:97

263 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:97.

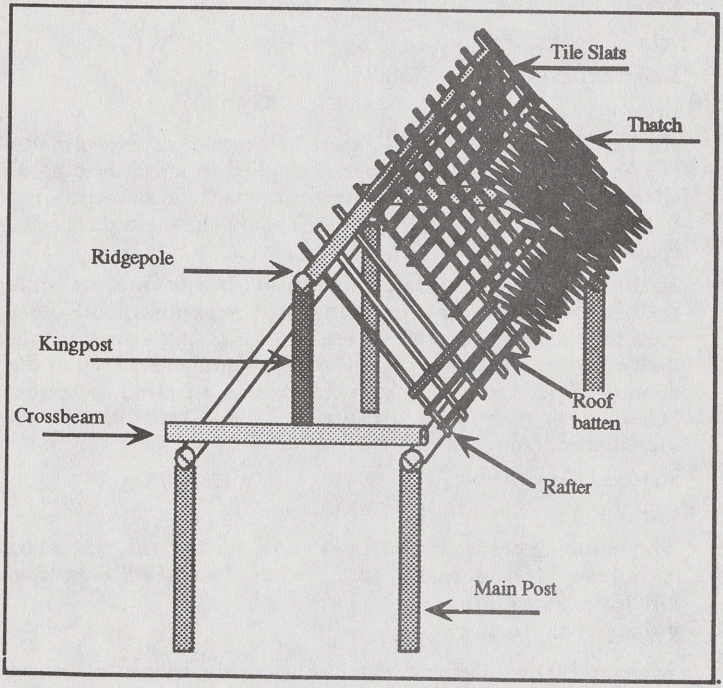
264 Hezel 1983:205.

265 Erdland 1914:262-263.

266 The traditional Marshallese house consists only of a roof structure which is set on four main posts, which protrude between 1.3 and 2m above the level ground. Walls are commonly absent and the area underneath the roof is utilized as the living area. It is covered with a coral gravel spread in a manner like the area outside the house. To make the area more comfortable, it is then covered with mats. The roof has a loft, which can be accessed through a hatch from below. The loft was used as a sleeping area and to store the precious things such a good mats and the like. Since it was sat on posts with a very smooth surface it was almost rat proof (hence the name: im *kidjerik* -rat house).

The roof rested on a frame made from two roof plates and two cross-beams which have been tied to the plates. This frame forms both the base of the roof and the frame with the floor of the loft. In the middle of each of the crossbeams a king post is placed, which supports the ridge pole. The rafters are set out in pairs, and meet at the ridge in such a fashion that they pass underneath ridge pole, thus partially supporting the weight of the ridge pole. Across the rafters, tile battens are tied horizontally onto which slats are attached to which the individual *Pandanus* thatch units are fastened. The central ridge batten was attached on top of the pole. The ends of the roof at the gables were competed with gable battens. In some cases the roof structure could be reinforced by diagonal battens.

As mentioned, traditionally there were no walls. With the arrival of the Europeans and the advent of Christianity, the houses were increasingly furnished with walls, either only on the wind (weather)-side or all around.



Marshallese house. Construction details.

The gable itself was also constructed by rafters running from the ridge pole to the cross beam, with battens attached perpendicularly to them and by tile slats tied on top.

The roof thatch units consisted of brown, fallen Pandanus leaves which had been wrapped around a "backbone" of a wooden stick and tied with the central ribs of coconut leaves. The thatching begins at the bottom and by tying successive layers of thatch units to the tile slats the ridge is reached. The ridge itself is covered with old mats or woven coconut fronts. Such a roof is said to be watertight for 1-2 years, but longer on the northern islands which have less rainfall. The attic or loft rests on the roof frame. Several cross beams have been tied onto the longitudinal beams (roof plate).

In the 1910s some houses, had their posts not buried in the ground but sat on large stones which had been partially buried in the ground. The living area underneath the roof was also bordered by stones. At the turn of the century more recent houses had bottom plates with a floor made of thin planks and round wood (Spennemann 1992b; Krämer 1906; Erdland 1914; Krämer & Nevermann 1938).

267 Krämer 1906:370.

268 Krämer: *Imalablap.*

269 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:97.

270 Erdland: *Jiarel.*

271 Erdland 1914:213 note 1. (*jarel*). Krämer & Nevermann (1938:206) mention that this term applied to a path leading to all chiefly houses (chief's house, magicians house, tattooing house, meeting house). *Jiadel*— "a taboo place reserved for chiefs" (Abo *et al.* 1976:101).

272 In this context two lingusitic observations are of interest: while the Marshallese word for tattooing is *eo*, *eo* also has some other meanings, such as "to start to bear fruit" (as in coconuts), and, used as a compound, *akeo* means the first fruit and is used in the context of harvesting Pandanus (*Pandanus tectorius*), coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*) and breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis/ A. mariannensis*)(Abo *et al.* 1976:10; 64).

273 Stated in Curtis 1986:72.

274 Curtis 1986.

275 The tattooing ceremony for children of chiefly rank was called *Kaboñ eōn.* Erdland: Kabuñ äon; Krämer: *kabungeön; kabunäon; Grösser: kabungeöng.*

276 Krämer 1904; 1906:370.

277 Krämer: *kaddok*; Grösser: *katok.* During the breadfruit season these sacrifices were called *mama* according to Krämer.

278 Or on similar stones on other islands (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:97).

Although the atolls of the Marshall Islands are entirely made up of coralline material, there some reports of volcanic stones found on the surface. Small stones caught or entangled in the root area of driftwood trees are well known and have traditionally been used as a source of raw material in the Marshall Islands (Chamisso [1986:139] describes that large stones used for grinding shell adzes were commonly obtained from driftwood trees and mentions that any such stones found had to be given to the *irooj* at punishment of death [Chamisso 1910:168]; Finsch 1893:66; 154; Wells 1951:3).

Traditionally basalt blocks (columns?) are known from Namu and Aur. The basalt block on Namu, named *Lowātoonmour* (Erdland 1914:345; 360: *Luwätonmöur* "the long life giver"), was originally located on the *wato* Bojar, next to a house (Erdland 1914:360: *Manjenninean*), and then moved. The stone is said to have been taken away by the vessel *Morning Star*, as the stone had considerable ritual importance and was said to be the origin of the early chiefs of the Ralik Chain and was regarded as the mother of all *bwij*. (Erdland 1914:345; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:41).

According to Buckingham (1949), based on his Ebon informant Lokrap, a descendant of the *irooj* lineage of the Ralik Chain, *Liwatoinmour* means "Come from the east to live" had a sister named *Lijjeleijet* ("Woman of the sea") whom she drove to live in the ocean. *Liwatoinmour* staid as a stone on Namu for a very long time. .Dr. Rife, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions went to Namu, picked up the basalt rock *Liwatoinmour* and threw it into the sea.

Another basalt block, named *Lidebrejo* (Erdland: *Lirebrebju*) and said to be the "sister" of the one on Namu, was known on Aur (Erdland 1914:345; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:74). The name *Lirebrebju* is sometimes given as the mother of Lewøj and Lanij (Erdland).

Given the contacts the Marshallese had with Kosrae and Pohnpei, an import from there is quite possible. The location of the basalt columns seems to co-incide with the major tattooing centres, if one assumes that the basalt column on Namu had been moved to there from Ailinglaplap.

The record of a basalt boulder found on Bokak [Cameron 1923:397] seems to have been a faulty identification of blackened coral boulders [Sachet 1955:16; Fosberg 1955:3; 28].

279 Grösser: *lokatok*.

280 Heine & Anderson 1971.

281 The relatives of these people were then afforded a piece of land (*wato*). (Tobin 1952).

282 Krämer 1904:15-17; A similar, but not identical text is given in Krämer 1906:371.

283 The following text, with line numbers given in rectangular brackets for easy reference, is the modern transcription of this text using the Bender spelling of the Marshallese dictionary (Abo *et al.* 1976). This transcription was furnished by A.Capelle.

[1] Itu eañ in mwiin renaaj roñ ad añōtñōt, [2] kōn mariin, [3] itu rak in mwiin renaaj roñ ad añōtñōt, [4] kōn mariin, [5] kōn an wāmuurur ni. [6] Bōktok eo emiej eoiki ilowaan em wōlep in, [7] En to an mōur, in ioon jahi in er an, [8] jet remōur, ak jet remej, [9] ak etaml renaaj nebare. [10] Enajj rüttolok, [11] Epōd ia āneo āneed? [12] Namo, Majkōn, [13] Elap lok bōñbōñ in, [14] Bōñbōñin, bōñbōñin, bōñbōñin, [15] Etam Kabua enaaj erelaklok, [16] ioon aelōñ ko an.

284 Under the eves of the house where the person about to be tattooed would sit on a mat.

285 Krämer uses the word *debbö* which is to mean standing; authority. The standing in this context is the traditional reputation, recognition and societal standing of an individual, possibly very similar to the Polynesian concept of *mana.*

286 Chamisso 1986:278-279.

287 Choris 1822.

288 Hernsheim (1880:41) mentions that men about to be tattooed who saw a woman had to cover their face (or to avert their eyes?).

289 If he/she had not been led there already.

290 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:97; Erdland 1914:21-22.

291 A special term, *jareo* (Krämer: *djarräo)* was used for the women assembled outside to accompany the ceremony by singing *(Jar* = to pray, hymn*; eo* = tattoo*;* Abo *et al.* 1976:85*).*

292 Women were not allowed to enter the tattooing house when a man (of rank?) was about to be tattooed. Likewise, the presence of men was not allowed when women were to be tattooed (Hernsheim 1880:41-42).

293 As before, the following text is the modern transcription :[1] *Rüpikuü aje ro rej jab kōjañ aje ko neijen,* [2] *Bwe unokan,* [3] *en jab kōmann addiin peier.* [4] *Aje ko rej roñ, rej jab nōn,* [5] *Ke rej jei eoko, eo ko, eo ko,* [6] *kōmanmani,* [7] *eo ko, kom rieo.*

294 As before, the following text is the modern transcription: [1] *Al in ej wanlōlok nān anij ran,* [2] *im ellowetok ej jeplook tok,* [3] *nān rieo,* [4] *Pikūri aje ko, pikūri ilo juon douloul,* [5] *Ak eo im, jekad eo,* [6] *rej kālōñ ak,* [7] *ejeplā peier,* [8] *ewōtlok alitōbier,* [9] *ioon eo in,* [10] *kōmanmani eo kein,* [11] *kom rieo.*

295 *Jekad*: black noddy, (*Anous tenourostris*, LARIDAE). Krämer: *Dägarreo* (identified as *Anous stolidus*); Finsch: *djeggar* (identidied as *Anous melanogenys*). Another bird identified to have an exemplarily black plumage is the *ägäo*.

296 As before, the following text is the modern transcription [1] *Door aje eo ituanmiiñem,* [2] *Pikuri nān imōñ eo in an,* [3] *Ej iññür, ej al,* [4] *elap an iññür, ej emmakütküt,* [5] *Lanulañ ej noe noe bwüj eo,* [6] *Kwon je redjolubu,* [7] *kōmman jāliiñiñ,* [8] *Eju eoon āilikin,* [9] *rej alooji,* [10] *Elokjañ jañ lañ,* [11] *Epjak pipijin kein.*

297 A drum (*aje*) is commonly placed at the left side of a sitting drummer so that the tympanon is close to the left side of the stomach. (Krämer 1906:380).

298 In this case the tattooing ceremony consists only of three participants, the father, who tattoos, the mother who covers the wound with a mat and slaps her thighs to drown out sounds, and the son, the person to be tattooed.

299 Erdland 1914:258-259.

300 Finsch 1893:430. The term *kāmaran* has second meaning, namely "to light up, to make light." Erdland 1906:30; 145.

301 Krämer 1904:19.

302 Krämer: *kadjime*; according to Krämer the terms means "evening out". *Kabwijeran* is the customary reimbursement given by anyone in return or exchange for food, living, or payment for medicine and priestcraft (Abo *et al.* 1976:124).

303 Hernsheim 1887.

304 Hasebe 1932.

305 Krämer: *eman, man, leo.*

306 Krämer: *körä; li.*

307 Krämer 1904; 1906:370-371.

308 Krämer: *beoki; bögui*; Erdland 1906:91: *bögui.*

309 Krämer: *djomidj; jomij;* Erdland: *Jalak;* Grösser: *jomij*= "age of the completed tattoo; Senfft: *djomidj;* Erdland 1906:119: *jo-mij* (=age of the completed tattoo).

310 Erdland 1914:258.

311 Dipping the the chisel: Erdland 1906:126.

312 Driving the tattooing chisel into the skin was called *kare* (Erdland 1906:132; 1914:58). According to the same dictionary, the term was also used for "to throw stones at", "to pierce open an boil" and "to hit (for a lightening)" (*ibid.* 132). In modern usage only the meaning of throwing a stone (*kade*) is preserved (Abo *et al.* 1976:125). Another term for the application of tattoos seems to be itemamōj (itak—to strike; mamōj—tattoo

pigment; Abo *et al.* 1976:79). Striking with the mallet was called *eotoot* (Krämer: *äudood).*

313 Krämer 1904:19; Hernsheim 1884; 1887; Kurze 1887.

314 Kotzebue 1821: II 113.

315 Finsch 1893:429.

316 Hernsheim 1880:41; Finsch 1893:429. Some authors mention that tattooing could take months to complete on a regular basis (Schneider 1891:60).

317 Hernsheim 1880:41; Finsch 1893:429.

318 Executed by Kabua, at that time not a chief. Finsch 1893:429.

319 In traditional medicine, the *nen* tree is a major source of medicinal agents. The leaves are commonly heated over a fire, and when the begin to turn brownish, are placed on the skin. This heat treatment, combined with the aetheric oils emanating from the leaves are used to cure some skin diseases, such as rashes and white fungus. The fruit of the tree is also very important. It is squeezed and squashed up, mixed with freshly ground coconut meat and left out in the sun for time between half and hour and two hours, The mixture is then squeezed and the liquid applied to the cut, scratched or rashed skin. It said to create stinging or burning sensation, but local medicinal people swear on its effectiveness. (Spennemann 1992g).

320 A folk tale dealing with illegal intercourse of a leprose commoner with a chiefly wife plays a line at the smelling of infected skin of a freshly tattooed person (Erdland 1914:251; see also Chambers 1972:162).

321 Kotzebue 1821: II 113.

322 Krämer (1904:19) uses the term *Kokosnußhülle*, rather than *Kokosnußschale*, which seems to indicate the husk rather than the shell.

323 Finsch 1893:429.

324 I am indebted to Dan Thomè, Guam, for pointing out this relationship to me. To date traditional healing in the Marshall Islands has not been studied in any systematic and comprehensive manner.

325 Erdland 1914:258-259; Mitchell 1973-168-169; Downing *et al.* 1992: 69-73.

326 Abo *et al.* 1976:228.

327 After Erdland 1914:262-263. The Marshallese text (after Erdland) is as follows: "Aoleben riailin in rejuij edal nan Jaluij; rejuij edal in äo, bue e bun äon eo ie. Ruo ligao in baran ailin in ejbikbik äodiirro: re jab likit wo ko na ibeirro. Rejro edal i ene nan baran ailin in. Ro edal, Limaro rej lo irro: "Larrik ro re dooj ijo rej bok ilen memau ie mau!". "Ta in limaran rej

ba?" "Boklok iek ne ikibin ile ne kab bokdok wut en i baran lien i lokan!" Ej illu limarouij, man ilo.

Ke larrik ro rej edal nan Eneanij, rejro ilen äo ie. Rejro bukotlok jineirro erik i Imuej. Leo e ritto ej ba: "Ilen ebokdok kineerro ibben jinerro!" Ej edal leo erik.

"Kuoj iet, le?" "Bok kineemro jelü!" "Ilen bok jäbeko en bue kineen jeim! bok jagi en emman bue kineom!".

Ke ej edal, ro babu. Ej illu leo e ritto, ilem kälem aö. Ej ba: "Jeiwuj, jei, idok; rejro aö; lamaran ne re bädak i rökdak. Lanin kein, ne je bun? ta ne ilo aä ne? Buil in leger äauwilmöro, ränem ba ian liger no eo!" Rejro äodök i Mejro.

Libuirak eo ej wanarlok, bok irro bue belen. Rejro gigi, juon lillab ej ilen kane irro. Ädan lillab eo: Lejeneneamemoujlin. Rej ruij. Libuirak eo ej ba: "Kömmandok kijen lama je räl" Rejuij kömman im ebokdok. Ak ej ba: "Lejeneneamemoujlin kane wuleorikrik in memauueo, ea ärärär nejin iroj eo!" "Ta in lien ej ba?" "Äläklok mok koj ne kojen lamaran ne!" Io.! re mij.

328 According to Erdland's explanation (1914:262 footnote 1) both young men carried parrot fish which had been strung on a string. The colour of the parrotfish resembles the colour of the fresh tattooing pigment, which causes the women to make a joke about it.

329 Exchanging fish for as little as a flower headband (*wut*) causes jealousy among the younger women with the older women trailing behind, which leads to some physical abuse.

330 Krämer: *Eneanij* is a small island next to Imiej at the eastern point of the atoll.

331 It is worth noting that the two brothers, who were about to complete their tattooes by themseves, fett the necessity to have a women around, possibly to sing the chants and beat a drum. Therefore they sent for their sister.

332 Why the aunt would ask the younger brother to give the older brother an old mat rather than his sleeping mat is unclear.

333 ABCFM Pi-A 7 October 1859, quoted after Hezel 1983:205..

334 This is because it was believed that a body is not human until the soul is recalled.

335 Generally, the action contained in all the tales reflected the value and belief system of the society. Rewards and punishments were given according to the society's cultural rules.

336 Whalers, mainly from New England, visited the Marshall Islands in the early 19th century. The contacts were not always friendly and there were many documented killings on both

sides. In the 1840s and 1850s the atolls of the Marshall Islands had a fearsome reputation as ports of call.

337 They not only knew to find their way around the atolls which make up the—modern—Marshall Islands, but were also cogniscant of other islands and several small shoals and patch reefs well beyond the margin of the Ralik and Ratak Chains. Several of these seamarks are known from traditions and can be identified with known shoals and reefs (see further below). Others cannot be located, and are likely to be intersections of currents and deflected swells, upon the knowledge of which the Marshallese navigation largely depended. Inter-atoll voyages comprising some 300-400 people seem to have been a common occurrence (Hezel 1983; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:30;Gulick 1862).

338 Peace Corps Volunteer Cultural Reference Sheet, Mile Island, Mile Atoll. Filled out by Erik E.Sandstrom. Undated (mid 1970s?) Ms. on file, Alele Museum. See also Warren 1860:175.

Other evidence comes from Kosrae itself, where two taro (*Xanthosoma* spp.) cultivars are known to have been introduced from the Marshall Islands, one named Ebon and the other Mile (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:108). In addition, the introduction of syphilis and gonorrhea in the Marshall Islands is blamed on Marshallese returning from Kosrae (*ibid.:* 233).

339 Rather well known are Mokil and Ngatik in the central Carolines, as traditions claim frequent wars with these atolls (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:217). Also known is Pingelap.

340 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:217; Nakayama & Rapp 1974:6;7;84.

341 The *central Carolineans* are credited to have regularly gone east to the Ralik Chain of the Marshalls, and sometimes as far as Johnston Atoll, and possibly even Hawaii. *Intentional voyages:* Nakayama & Rapp 1974:7;8; Pompey 1971:13;15;75; *Shipwrecked/drifted from:* Pingelap [to Jaluit Krämer & Nevermann 1938:35], Woleai [*ibid.*; Erdaland 1914:315]; Yap (Twenty Yapese drifted to Kili in the mid 19th century. The Yapese were captured and killed by a Kili chief.- See Hezel 1979:127; entry for 1868, *Bark Syringia).*Lamotrek [Kotzebue 1821: II 89); See also Kadu of Woleai mentioned in Chamisso.

342 The *i-Kiribati* or *ri-Pit* as they are known in the Marshalls (Krämer & Nevermann 1938:13 footnote 2; 26; Chamisso 1986; Hernsheim 1887), were especially often found adrift and frequently stranded on the southern Marshalls, namely Mile and Arno, and these atolls have several genealogical links with the northern and central atolls of Kiribati European vessels putting shipwrecked i-Kiribati ashore in the Marshall Islands also contributed to the number of ri-Pit in the southern

Marshalls (Finsch 1893:383). Shipwrecked i-Kiribati were picked up by the brig *Mercury* south of Ebon in 1858 (Hezel 1979:121) and landed on that island, where two were later killed by Ebonese. In 1882 some other i-Kiribati were found drifting south of Ebon by the American vessel *Northern Light*; rather than being landed on Namorik or Ebon, the i-Kiribati ended up in Japan (Hezel 1979:139). During the 19th century i-Kiribati were also living on Namorik (1851; Hezel 1979:121; 1868; *ibid.* 127), Jaluit (1871; *ibid.* 129; 1879 *ibid.* 136). Still today, i-Kiribati fishermen occasionally drift to the shores of the southern Marshall Islands.

343 Marshallese blown off course have been reported from New Ireland, New Guinea (Marshallese from Jaluit bound for Ebon ended up 36 days later at Kavieng: *Repatriation expenses of natives of the Marshall Islands.* Commonwealth of Australia, Prime Ministers Department File 201/48. File A 457/1 Australian Archives, A.C.T. Regional Repository, Canberra), from Kosrae (Warren 1860:175), from Faraulep (Finsch 1893:166),.

Other oral traditions indicate that on occasion voyages may have occurred as far afield as.Kapingamarangi and.Nukuoro. At about 1860 the people from Majuro Atoll set out with 50 canoes to conquer Kapingamarangi Atoll, a Polynesian outlier in the southern central Caroline Islands. Upon arrival the Majuro people killed all original inhabitants and left a colonisation group behind. On the way back the canoe fleet ran into a severe storm and was dispersed. Some of the canoes ended up in Pohnpei, while others were driven to Nukuoro Atoll. There again, the Majuro people killed all original inhabitants and installed themselves as the owners of Nukuoro.

Krämer and Nevermann (1938) who report this story, question its accuracy on linguistic grounds, as the Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi people speak a Polynesian outlier dialect and not Ralik-Ratak.

A common feature of these extremely far-flung voyages seems to have been dispersal in storms or disorientation during overcast skies, often leading to fatal results.

344 Grösser: *birdodo.* Krämer 1904; 1906:407.

345 Erdland 1906:159.

346 Cf. Krämer 1904:14; Finsch 1879; 1893; Joest 1887:55.

347 Such as Erdland.

348 Steinbach 1895; Oberländer (Christmann & Oberländer 1873:171).

349 Hasebe 1932.

350 Finsch 1893:429.

351 Krämer 1906:407.

352 See arguments by Buck 1930:297-298.

353 Krämer 1906:408.

354 Krämer 1904; 1906; There are other spellings/ pronunciations of these two gods: Lewōj is known as Leowudj, Leuit, Lewuj; while Lanij is known as Lianidj, Lanej. (Compiled from Erdland 1914; Krämer & Nevermann 1938:96; Bender 1963:212; Tobin 1952:22). The anthropogeny is told differently in the Ralik and the Ratak Chain. Lewōj literally means "give to you"; the etymology of Lanej is not clear. It may have well been *Lañej* "eastern sky", from *lañ*—sky (Abo *et al.* 59) and *-ej*; upper, eastern (formant in place names, Abo *et al.* 1976:175)

355 Bender 1963:212; Chambers 1972:31.

356 Quoted after Krämer 1904:14; see also Krämer 1906:371.

357s The reference to "lizard people" and "rat people" most likely indicates clan names.

358 Chambers 1973:71 The rat and the octopus.

359The rat was taken ashore by the octopus, then it excreted on the octopus' head as an act of gratitude, angering the octopus for all times to come (Chambers 1972:31).

360 Most oral traditions recorded by Erdland, Finsch and Krämer stem from Ailinglaplap and from Ebon, both localities where Kabua and his *bwij* lived. It would appear that most material was recorded through his offices of supplying informants to his German friends. Thus the traditional data set we have documented is heavily weighted in favour of the Ralik Chain and there in favour of the atolls of Ailinglaplap and Ebon (cf. also compilations of Chambers 1972; Mitchell 1972; Downing *et al.* 1992).

361 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:238; Erdland 1914:197.

362 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:238.

363 Krämer & Nevermann 1938:37.

364The fear of the sea coming over the land, either as an occasional flooding due too a higher than normal sea-level caused by a high-pressure cell close to the Marshall Islands, or due to tsunamis or typhoon surges was well justified. All these could occur without much pre-warning. Since the atolls of the Marshall Islands are that low-lying, this ever-present threat was the single-most disastrous event that could befall the people.

365The *ri-bubu* were rewarded for their services with a piece of land to live of (this gift of land was called *waienbwe*); Tobin 1952:22).

366 Hernsheim 1880:41.

367 Eisenhardt 1888.

368 Curtis 1978:72.

369 Kurze 1887.

370 Chamisso 1986:275.

371 Tattooing seems to have remained a chiefly marker, and it would appear that the chiefs were the last to give it up (Spoehr 1949:78).

372 Erdland 1914: 20.

373 Choris 1822. It is somewhat unclear where Choris got his information on the ages from, and whether these were not simply based on his judgement of people's ages.

374 Kotzebue 1821: II 113. Chamisso (1986:150) also mentions the two young people, a boy and girl, without any tattoos on Airik, Maloelap, and also observes that both seemed to occupy a high rank.

375 Schneider 1891:60.

376 Erdland 1906:119-120.

377 Chamisso 1986: 197.

378 Finsch 1893:428.

379 Erdland 1914: 21; Finsch 1893:429.

380 Chamisso 1986:149.

381 Erdland 1914:20; see also Brandeis 1908.

382 Finsch 1893:429.

383 In this context it should be pointed out that the tattooing of the *mons veneris* was the first tattoo, for example, a Palauan girl would obtain (Kubary 1887).

384 Kotzebue 1821:II 113.

385 Krämer: *driäo; rio* (contracted form).

386 Kurze 1887

387 Hernsheim 1884.

388 Abo *et al.* 1976:61.

389 Hernsheim 1880:41.

390 At that time (1879/1880) twelve years old (Finsch 1893:429). This tattoo, however does not seem to have been executed, as Hasebe Kotondo (1932) mentions that Kabua's eldest son "Rairan", at the time of Hasebe's fieldwork "headman over all the Ralik Islands" and 65 years of age, had "only his name tattooed on his right forearm and a small decoration on his left forarm. Given the age of "Rairan" it is more than likely that "Rairan" is identical with "Lailang".

391 On Solsorol, Carolines, the women were the primary tattoo artists (Kubary 1895:89).

392 Finsch 1893:429-430; Erdland 1914:21.

393 Erdland 1914:19.

394 Chamisso 1986:153; 353. Choris (1822) companion of Chamisso's on the expedition, also indicates that a number of Russian sailors were keen to obtain a tattoo but were always put off by a number of excuses, so that in the end they had to depart without them.

See also Kotzebue 1821:II113 who mentions that none of his men were tattooed on occasion of their stay on Wotje. He recalls that a mate of Krusenstern's ship fainted during a short demonstration (?) of the procedure, but does not mention where this happened (it might have been in Alaska for example). Kotzebue mentions that the Marshallese did not want to execute the tattoo as Erikup was the proper place for this.

On other Micronesian island groups castaways of white skin were sometimes tattooed: Madan Blanchard, Englishman, Palau (Hezel 1983:77); O'Connell, Irish, Pohnpei (*Ibid.* 112).

395 Hager 1883:73.

396 Finsch 1893:430.

397 Erdland 1914: 22.

398 Finsch 1893:429.

399 Finsch 1893:427-429.

400 Schneider 1891:60-61.

401 Hasebe: "sawtooth" motifs.

402 Spoehr 1949:59.

403 The number of words contained in a dictionary has been computed by multiplying the total number of pages with the average entry count derived from the count five sample pages.

404 If one ignores a few dots or letters on the hand, wrist or lower arm, which are usually self applied.

405 As opposed to Fijian indians and Fijians of European descent.

406 In Tonga the Wesleyan missionaries traded all sorts of items and there was little difference between a mission house and a trade store.

407 In Tonga, for example, the (British) Wesleyans missionaries made use of the British warships, while the (French) Catholics appealed for help from the French naval vessels calling at Tongatapu.

408 On record is the example of Tahiti, where Wesleyan missionaries ordered to cut down a large number of breadfruit trees

409 *Cf.* The backing of Taufa'ahau Tupou I in Tonga (Latukefu 1968)

410 Often also called "Boston Mission".

411 Warren 1860:243. The protestant mission history is reported by the following sources: Grundemann 1889; German Colonial Office files IX RKA III; Warren 1860; Hezel 1983.

The ABCFM established mission stations in the following years on the atolls of the Marshall Islands:

412 Cf. quotes in Gifford 1923.

413 Such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ABCFM or "Boston Mission".

414Warren 1860:85; Warren belonged to the Boston Mission.

415 Brouwer 1972.

416 *Ibid.* Italics in original.

417 Warren 1860:205.

418 The old testament (Levithicus XIX:28) says "*You shall not make any cuttings in your flesh on account of the dead or tattoo any marks upon you.*" See also Levithicus XXI:5 and Moses 5 XIV:1. Apart from the Mosaic quotes tattooing is also commented upon in other parts of the Old Testament such as Jeremiah (XVI:6; XLI:5; XLVII:5; XLVIII:37), Jesaiah (IX:16) and Hezekiel (IX:4; 6).

Christian scholarstabooed tattooing early on, but it seems to have prevailed in some parts of Europe until the medieval ages (see review in Schönfeld 1960:34-36). On the other hand tattooing was common among the early Chrsitians, and there is some indication that even the Apostle Paul had been marked (Letters to the Galeters VI:17).

Marking of outcasts was also practised (Geneis IV:15).

419 The missionaries, however, did only very selectively use the quotes in Levithicus, as, for examples, some of them did shave and others did cut the sides of the hair on their heads, both forbidden in Levithicus (XIX:29).

420 However, as has been shown before, being tattooed in a specific manner, as was well as purposefully not being tattooing as the Isrealites, was a group identificator setting onself apart from the neighbours.

In the case of the Bible, the book of Levithicus sets out a set of behaviour rules which shall govern the Isrealites and which set them apart from both Egypt, the country they came from, and Palestine, the country they were moving to. Both groups, Egyptians and Samaritans practised tattooing.

421 Cannetti 1922:21; Joest 1887:50.

422 Hager 1883:73. Tattooing had largely ceased in the second half of the 19th century, so that Finsch (1893:430) discussing tattooing needles was forced to state that "in 1879 it was no longer easy to obtain such implements." With the decrease in tattooing the need to procure tattooing tools had become obsolete

423 Finsch 1886

424 ABCFM Pi-A 7 Oct 1859; quoted after Hezel 1983:205

425 Riebow 1898.

426 OPNAV 1943:24.

427 Enewetak and Ujelang are a good example. When the German purchased the Marshall Islands from Spain, the boundary line was drawn at 160° eastern longitude thereby excluding the two atolls. Although the Germans argued that these atolls were in fact Marshallese, the issue remained unresolved until 1898 when the Spanish possessions of Micronesia (with the exception of Guam) was purchased by the Germans. From then on, until the end of the German Colonial period in 1914, Enewetak and Ujelang were administered from Jaluit. The Japanese (1914-1945) reversed the situation and once more administered the two atolls from Pohnpei. The U.S. Trust Territory administration finally placed Enewetak and Ujelang with the Marshall Islands District.

428 Bender 1963:113.

429 Hezel 1984, 1985; 1987; 1989; Rubinstein 1981; 1982; 1983; 1985; 1987; 1989; McCabe & Walker in press. As Purcell (1991) has shown, suicide was also high during the Japanese Period, and had its roots in similar transitional problems. Hezel (1989:64) argues that the transition from a subsistence to a monitary economy, which took place after World War II, but increased momentum in the late 1960s and especially in the post-compact years in late the 1980s, disrupted traditional family and social structures.

430 Spennemann in prep.; Spoehr 1949. A similar indicator is substance abuse, mainly of alcohol, which is common throughout Micronesia (Hezel 1981; Marshall 1979) including in the Marshalls. Again it is the young adult male population which is affected and in two thirds of the Marshallese suicide cases alcohol has been implicated as the facillitator (Hezel 1989).

Glossary Of Terms Used With Marshallese Tattooing

The following is a glossary of Marshallese terms used in conjunction with the tattooing ceremonies and the tattooing operation, its participants, loactions, motifs and utensils.

addijokur	back of a crab, used as a finger tattoo. (tattoo motif nº30).
addilajju	motif taken from the cone shell used as a finger tattoo (tattoo motif nº14b).
Aelōñļapļap	Atoll in the central (western) Ralik Chain of islands, traditional seat of the supreme chief of the Ralik Chain (common English spelling: Ailinglaplap).
Āne-piñ	Islet on. *Aelōñļapļap* Atoll in the. Ralik Chain, traditionally the main place for tattooing ceremonies.
anijjar	"praying to the gods" (tattoo motif nº12).
apar	border of a mat or road.

ar	Tattoo design..
atok	Lesser royal rank, title commonly conferred as a reward for bravery in battle.
bad	place for divination.
bōd (?)	joined hexagons, said to represent the dermal plates of a turtle shell (tattoo motif nº19).
bōd eo Lōbōllōñ	sign of the Lōbōllōñ (tattoo motif nº2)..
Bokwōj	(literally: to embrace) ornament zone on Marshallese mats.
Bunbun aurōk	grown up and tattooed chiefly son.
būḷ	boxfish.
bwilak	tail end of the unicorn fish (tattoo motif nº16a, 16b, 16c)..
dānnin wōt	"rain water" (tattoo motif nº18).
deeleak	fan tattoo motif nº? (tattoo motif nº16??)..
eloñwa	"Duck's foot" shell (*Lepas anserifera*) (tattoo motif nº5)..
Eōṃo	Ailinglaplap Islet.
eọ	(straight) line; (tattoo motif nº20a)..
eọ	Fish (either. *Pygoplites diacanthus* [blue-banded angelfish] or. *Pterois volitans* [lion fish]) seen as the ideal ornament a tattooist should strive for.
eọ	tattooing (general term).

eọ elap	thick lines (tattoo motif nº20b). .
eọ elap	upper back band (ornament field, men's tattoo)
eọ kadikdik	tattoo like the woven rope–belt (tattoo motif nº31).
eọ kat	tattoo on side of chest (ornament field, men's tattoo)
eọ oten-boro	neck tattoo (ornament field, men's tattoo)
eọdi, eọ dim, eọ din	Tattoo (general term).
Eọñōōñ	Mejit Tract (meaning unclear).
Eọwerōk	Mile tract ("land of the departed spirits").
Eọṃōlōñ	Ailinglaplap tract (meaning unclear).
Eọṃōn-mā	Arno tract ("under the breadfruit tree").
Eọṃwe-lañ	Majuro tract ("under the sky").
eọọn-māj	face tattoo.
eọọt	striped or spotted as in ancient tattoos (modern term).
eọọten-bōro	neck tattoo.
Eọọtle	Likiep Islet ("south").
ibeiro	row of dots (tattoo motif nº10b).
Irooj ļaplap	Title of paramount chief.
ittüt	lower chest triangle (ornament field, men's tattoo)

Itütüt	(literally: intertwined) ornament zone on Marshallese mats.
jade	to beat the tattooing chisel with the mallet..
jālili	zigzag tattoo motif nº (tattoo motif nº1?).
jāpe	wooden bowl used for final meal after completed tattoo..
jareọ	the group of women drumming and singing outside the tattooing house during the tattooing process..
jikin uwe (?)	(tattoo motif nº28).
Joor	(literally: pillar or post) ornament zone on Marshallese mats.
joor in dilep	"spine posts" (ornament field, men's tattoo)
joor in limoar	"front posts" (ornament field, men's tattoo)
joor in limolik	two "back posts" (ornament field, men's tattoo)
kāboborok	a zigzag motif (tattoo motif).
kabwijeran	payment for the tattoo..
kabọn̄ eọn	tattooing ceremony for children of chielfy rank.
kādikdik	Tile slats, (tattoo motif nº23b).
kālaplap	"Shape of a body" (tattoo motif).
ke	dolphin motif. (tattoo motif nº15a/15b). .
kein kōm	stick to pick breadfruit (tattoo motif nº1). .
kein kōṃ	stick for picking breadfruit.

kiju central vertical ornament field (ornament field, men's tattoo)

kilin bül boxfish; skin of a boxfish (tattoo motif nº17). .

kinejo Scar tattoo (?).

kōdo clouds, (tattoo motif nº4a, 4b). .

lijja (tattoo motif nº3). .

ļārooj atoll or island reserved for food gathering, usually for a chief and his immediate family.

ļooj False albacore or kawakawa.

ļouj a fish with long fins.

Lōlo literally: to wreathe) ornament zone on Marshallese mats.

lōñjak (tattoo motif nº7).

looj bonito (tattoo motif nº13). .

lukwo arm tattoo ("bracelet") (ornament field, men's tattoo)

mad pōōdpudi "spirally peeled sticks", (tattoo motif nº22b,).

mādo net for cleaning arrowroot or soaking breadfruit (tattoo motif nº6). .

menin lob upper chest triangle (ornament field, men's tattoo)

mōk a fish, smaller than the køpat surgeon fish.

ṃak needlefish *Strongylura marina.*

ñimak teeth of the *mak* fish (needlefish). (tattoo motif nº14).

ninninkat	(tattoo motif).
nit	pit for sunken bird fighting enclosure.
ōō/eōō	lion fish *Pterois volitans.*
ōr	grass skirt.
pādālijmaan	"grass stalk on which flies sit" (tattoo motif nº8).
pako	shark's tooth (tattoo motif nº21a, 21b)..
raanke	coconut grater used for final meal after completed tattoo..
ribwebwe	sorcerer, magician.
rieọ	tattooist.
rijōubwe	sorcerer, magician.
rojañpe	arm tattoo ("bracelet") (ornament field, men's tattoo)
roloñjak	chest tattoo (tattoo motif nº9).
rūbōb	*Holocanthus diancanthus.*
Tiltil	(literally: embroidery) ornament zone on Marshallese mats.
tiltil	embroidery; spotted; dotted.
tokrak	firehook (tattoo motif nº11).
tokrak	lower back field (ornament field, men's tattoo)
tokrak	stick used to spread hot oven stones.
wajid	single tattooed dot (tattoo motif nº10a)..
wālcklik	sacrifice food to the gods.

waurok	shoulder tattoo (ornament field, men's tattoo)
wo eo	back triangle (ornament field, men's tattoo)
wude	stepped zigzag (tattoo motif nº32).
wun (?)	a fish scale motif (tattoo motif nº27).
wunne	Leg tattoos (ornament field, men's tattoo)
wūnne	Leg tattoo (literally: thigh tattoo).

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